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HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

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A STUDY WAS CONDUCTED WHICH CONSIDERED SELECTED EUROPEAN EXPERIENCES INVOLVING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION AS RELATED TO ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY, NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY. THE PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF ENGLAND, THE NETHERLANDS, AND SWEDEN WERE EXAMINED BY MEANS OF LITERATURE SEARCHES, OBSERVATIONS, INTERVIEWS, AND CORRESPONDENCE. IN GENERAL, THE FINDINGS INDICATED THAT ECCLESIASTICALLY BASED CLAIMS TO AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF RELIGION STEM FROM PARTICULAR HISTORIC CREEDS AND DOCTRINES. THE TEACHING MISSION OF THE CHURCH IS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. OTHER CONCLUSIONS AND REFERENCES ARE REPORTED. (TC)

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HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

Cooperative Research Project No. F-017

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Bloomington, Indiana

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PREFACE

The work of compiling, translating, and interpreting the materials involved in this study could not have progressed without the aid of a number of people in England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Their cooperation in providing access to schools and to relevant materials and their willingness to discuss educational policies is gratefully acknowledged. Among them, the author is especially endebted to those who served as Research Associates in the countries studied: Malcolm Skilbeck of the University of Bristol Institute of Education; Peter van de Griend of the Technological University at Eindhoven; and Pehr Rosengren, Consultant with the National Board of Education at Stockholm. Although these colleagues contributed beyond measure to the work of the inquiry, the interpretations and appraisals expressed in the study are the sole responsibility of the author. The study is also endebted to James D. Hendricks, Research Assistant and Fellow in the Center for the Study of Educational Policy at Indiana University.

Cooperative Research Project No. F-017
Historical and Social Determinants of Public Education Policy in the United States and Europe

ERRATA

page 52 footnote 16, line 2, there are not these are.

page 75 line 19 Rs, not R's

page 97 line 6 setting not settling

page 146 two lines from the bottom of the quote reserve not reverse

page 159 line 15 Congregations not Congreations

page 199 last sentence of paragraph interpreting Table 3 should read:
In 1960, of the total number of pupils, approximately 35 percent
attended public schools, 22 per cent attended protestant schools,
35 percent attended Roman Catholic schools, and 7 percent attended
neutral schools.

page 200 line 14 characteristic not characteristics

page 201 footnote no. 12, Idenburg, page 128 not 594

page 204 line 9 interests not insterests

page 204 footnote Spoor not Spor

page 205 line 3 Nietzsche not Neitzsche

page 209 footnote no. 17, Volume XIII not XII

page 213 line 7 strictly not stringly

page 215 line 6 simple not simply

page 215 five lines from the bottom: apostasy not aspotasy

page 217 line 2 decent not decept

page 219 line 2 Sociological Guide not Socilogical Guide

page 221 line 15 read "a choice at this point"

page 229 last line on page, "Structural not "Structional

page 236 Table 4 the percent of seats for the Roman Catholic People's
Party in 1959 should be 31.6 not 3.16
and in 1963 it should be 31.9 not 3.19

page 237 Table 4 continued, the total number of seats in 1956, 1959, and 1963 should be 150 not 100

page 251 line 11 Should read "there were about 551 of the first type and about 581 of the second"

page 264 the Table is from Idenburg, p. 112 not p. 122

page 272 line 2 differing not differeing

page 276 line 18 read organizations rather than attempted correction

page 278 line 10 the first word should be its not is

page 279 line 16 the first word should be foundation not foundtion

page 285 line 21 the first word should be neutral not netral

page 302 Footnote 89 should refer to Moberg not Fogarty

page 340 line 19 principle not principles

page 362 the last word in the quote should be Göteborg not Goteburg

page 376 line 4 Malmö not Malmo

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

THE LEADING QUESTION

In recent years the American people have been called upon to develop and refine their views about the relationships between religion and public education. In a number of instances and at different levels of decision and policy the meaning of the separation of church and state has been more and more opened for public consideration and discussion. Decisions of the Supreme Court have interpreted the meaning of the First Amendment and the consequences have been felt in many communities. How the public schools shall manage to bring their practices under the direction of some common public policy has become a vital concern to many individuals and groups throughout our society. How we shall use public funds for the improvement of education and yet maintain a separation of state and church is a pressing modern problem. Much that was earlier taken for granted is called into question as we reappraise our historic democratic values.

In the current reappraisal of our historical position we encounter the argument that the United States should profit from the experience of Europe. Yet the meaning of this recommendation is unclear.

It may mean that the American people could make wiser choices in this area if they were better informed about how various European nations have sought to relate religion and schooling. These countries not only have had a long history of struggle between church and state but in more recent years have had to come to grips with the demand for clearly defined national policy. They have had on the one hand to respond to the demand for religious belief and conviction on the part of their citizens and on the other hand to meet the equally urgent need to provide a maximum suitable education for all of their people. Americans would have a broader background for approaching their own problems if they studied more basically the responses of European nations to their historical and social conditions. They would avoid a narrow approach to their own problems if the meaning of European patterns of relating religion and education were clearly revealed. With this general recommendation most would concur.

Yet the argument frequently runs beyond this appeal to broader experience. Some seem to mean that the United States should follow the practices or the policies of some European nation. This may mean that we should select from European patterns those practices which are judged by some standard of interest to be most appropriate to the American situation. The argument may also mean that we should manage the conflict of interests in our society after the fashion of some European country. Sometimes the argument seems to mean that the United States is going through, or should be going through, the various stages which European nations have lived through in developing their present policies. To others the argument seems to mean that the American people have not, or should not have, departed so far from their European ancestors that they should endeavor to synthesize a unique pattern of response to ancient and recurrent problems. In short, as soon as we move past the general and vague notion that Americans should learn something from European experience, we encounter a range of questions suggesting that we do not know in what sense we should learn from this experience.

This study endeavors to look into selected European experiences concerning religion and education to try to discover their meaning for

American problems. It centers primarily upon the policies of the English, the Dutch, and the Swedish people and upon the historic and social conditions to which these policies respond. These countries were selected for the following reasons: (1) The context of the argument usually suggests that we should be guided by the experience of the first two, and possibly the third, countries. (2) The contrast between the three is judged to be more revealing than a concentration upon any one of them. (3) Each of the three countries has clearly fed its culture and its people into the American scene. (4) The experiences of each are judged to be distinctive and available in sufficient detail to have determinate meaning for American policy. (5) Substantial studies of other European patterns are available and can be brought as additional resources to the study of policy proposed in this endeavor.

The study is limited to the consideration of national policy as it bears upon elementary and secondary schools. The focus of the American policy problem is found at this level. Higher education will receive attention only in so far as the education of teachers is concerned.

However, here we run into a number of difficulties in the study of school policy in different countries for the schools of one country are only grossly similar to those of another. In European countries the preparation of elementary school teachers is typically very different from that of masters who teach in the pre-university secondary schools. In general, teachers prepare at teacher training schools which may in some countries be related to universities through institutes of education but in other countries may have no relation to the university. In general, masters are university graduates. The difference between the two levels of teaching in terms of selection, curriculum, qualifying examinations, professional organizations, educational journals, salary, and the like, to one accustomed to American patterns, resembles the differences between the two separate professions.

Other differences between American and European institutions are impressive and bear in various ways upon this study. It is clear, for instance, that a traditional European university is markedly different from many of the institutions bearing this title in the United States. Since the university has an impact upon the program and character of the schools that prepare students for it, its influence is felt in the policies we are studying. However, of more direct importance in the project is the wide variety of schools intermediary between elementary schools and the university. While the high school and junior college of the United States resemble in some ways the gymnasium, lyceum, and preparatory schools of European countries, American schools also serve other purposes. Although movements toward a comprehensive school are found in England, the Netherlands, and Sweden, they are based in each country on the educational traditions and needs of that society. The variety of schools and the changing designs of education in these countries should warn against over-simplified attempts at comparisons.

Although many aspects of educational policy are relevant to and help to clarify the handling of religious questions, the focus of our inquiry will be found in two areas. We are interested in policies concerning the support of religious schools from public funds and with policies dealing with the teaching of religion in schools under the control of public educational authorities. The problems of American educational policy focus in these two problem areas. In so far as religious schools are maintained and controlled by their own religious institutions they do not fall within the scope of this inquiry. Private schools, independent of state support and control, have long had a legitimate place in democratic countries. Although they may be required by the state to meet certain general standards in regard to safety, health, and common educational requirements, they do not exemplify the problems of public policy of state supported and state controlled schools. The difficulty here, of course, is that in many European countries the line between private and public schools is far from definite and clear. A dual system, involving the mixture of public and private schools exists, and various measures of state support and state control of private and religious schools are common. In the degree that public support and control is involved in private religious schools, those schools and the policies regarding them fall within the scope of this inquiry.

Since inquiry into the matters raised by the initial question is never a mere photographic reproduction of directly observed and self-contained items, we need to suggest the conditions of this problem area. These conditions, when viewed through the lens of the purpose of this project, suggest some resources that should be brought to bear upon the tasks ahead. To suggest that these conditions give rise to the need for the refinement of a methodology is too pretentious a way of putting the matter, but the rudiments of this kind of consideration merit attention.

CONDITIONS OF THE PROBLEM AREA

If we are to sort out the threads involved in the generalization that in some sense or other the United States should be guided by the experience of various European countries, we should do well to have in mind some of the conditions that inquiry into this matter must face. Not only are we involved in one of the most sensitive and difficult areas of American educational policy, but the ways in which European countries have experienced and managed the conflict between the church's interest and the state's interest in education are complex and sometimes difficult to reveal. Although the problems that condition the nature of our inquiry are themselves worthy of extended attention, the treatment of them here must omit many technical questions. Rather than any kind of definitive or comprehensive treatment of them, we seek such an awareness of the pitfalls that abound on every side that we can tread our way in this domain with some sense of the range and variety of the choices that are being made. In what follows the truncated from of expression should not be taken to mean either dogmatically held truth or a fully explicated range of assumptions.

In the first place, the project encounters a full range of problems concerning the use of language in the interest of clear common meanings. Here we have in mind not only the need to avoid the confusions and ambiguities, including the emotionally-toned expressions, that abound in ordinary language particularly when it deals with matters in which choice and preference play a large part. In the field with which this project deals we have not achieved the degree of precision which has been worked out in some of the more conventional academic disciplines. Hence words are likely to take on the particular meanings of a personal or group orientation.

In addition to the difficulties involved in translating meanings expressed in one language into the words of another, we are involved in different contexts of human experience, including differences among those who share the same national language. Each speaker brings to his statements of policy a context formed by his own participation in some segment of a national culture. In a particular expression this is only partially indicated and the reader may be given insufficient clues about how to fill in the gaps.

Consider, for example, a statement that one is likely to encounter in both the United States and in European countries. It runs to the effect that 'since we are a Christian people', we should favor one or another policy promoting the teaching of religion in the public schools. The sense of the claim that we are a Christian people is obscure. Its sense depends on what else is said, or more frequently left unsaid. Presumably its meaning for a nation with an established church is difference from its possible meanings in a country like the United States. Tied up with its meaning are many questions about the religious history of the society. One needs to know the interpretation of ethical and sacred values associated with particular religious institutions within the context of the culture in which the statement is made. The meaning of the statement relates to a set of interests, preferences, and judgments about what is most important in the needs and values of national life. In short, it is part of a point of view operating at a particular time and place in a living society's sense of its own direction.

It needs to be treated with an awareness of all this if it is to reveal its credentials as suitable for informing others about its meaning.

From what has been said concerning the above example one should not conclude that it is the primary task of this project to explore the full range of meaning of arguments put forth in the support of various preferred policies. Such an extended undertaking lies beyond the more modest and exploratory character of the present undertaking. It does mean, however, that we build into our approach an awareness that statements may not be taken as carrying their credentials upon their surfaces. One needs to bring to their interpretation a wide ranging awareness of the framework of historical conditions, values, appraisals and the like in the light of which their meaning may be more clearly understood. The project attempts to show selectively and by example the ingredients that contribute more determinate meaning to the surface of arguments. It will endeavor to exemplify a more productive way to learn from the experiences of other cultures than the immediate acceptance of things as they appear to be. It seeks to interpret critically the meaning of policies and policy proposals concerning religion and public education in the countries selected for study.

A second consideration, closely related to the problems of communication and the search for clear meanings about expressions of policy, recognizes what is at stake in the study of different cultures. If we are to entertain the notion that we can profit from the study of the way other countries manage the demands of religious interests on the one hand and on the other the case of civic responsibility for education, we must face the difficulties and demands of responsible intercultural studies.

One of the primary dangers in the study of the policies of other countries is that of carrying unconsciously the formulations and norms of one's native country into the inquiry in other lands. In one sense this is legitimate and necessary in the search for what may be learned from other cultures that may be appropriate to one's own. Certainly one needs an awareness and a knowledge of the situation and problems in the United States if he is to look for what may be found abroad that has bearing upon the problems at home. But in another sense patterns of policy in Europe need to be understood as expressions of their own indigenous conditions rather than recognized immediately as responses to the same conditions or problems that we have in American life. A certain kind of detachment from one's own cultural conditions and arrangements is needed in order to avoid the distortions of a naive tourism.

Although the character of this detachment is difficult to specify, the observer should at least seek to understand the idiom and the attitude with which problems are tackled and policies developed in a particular country. The role of the observer of the processes involved in policy development, particularly of a foreign observer, is different from that of the citizen who participates in the civic, political and religious life of the country. He cannot presumably share the kind of awareness and depth of meaning of an active participant in the nation's policies. However, this standing outside of the phenomena observed may afford a certain kind of objective view of social conditions, and forces and of responses to them. Although the observer is selective in the sense of looking for what may enlighten the problems of his own country and although he may lack the familiarity of one studying his own indigenous culture, he may contribute a perspective which fills in some of the gaps within a comprehensive picture of national policy.

The project, of course, encounters the problems of translating the form and content of European experiences into a meaningful analysis for American life. The fact that two countries share a common language is no guarantee that the meanings appropriate to their expressions of policy will be identical. What is understood in England as a public school is clearly different from the sense in which an American understands the term. Still more difficulties are apparent as one tries to render Dutch and Swedish policy matters faithful to their native meanings, yet available for Americans. Although no formula can be offered in this matter, continual attention will be given to both demands.

One of the aims of intercultural study concerns the way in which it may be able to reveal the implicit cultural presuppositions conditioning the way a society manages its problems. One may obtain a handle on covert American cultural biases through search for another culture's management of its policies. On the other side of the coin, in seeking to make European experiences yield their meanings for American policy, one may articulate premises which are taken for granted at an implicit level in Europe as well as in America.

Thus, the American view of the separation of church and state may conceal from American eyes the possibility of steps, common in Europe, to use the Bible in schools not only as literature but as a source for the development of religious conviction in modern life. Whether this may be done in ways that avoid state support of sectarian religion is a part of the problem. However, the presupposition that the schools must be silent about the religious components of life might well be reexamined. The study of European policies might open the door to new possibilities in the United States.

Let us consider another example. The notion of religious freedom which identifies it exclusively with the right of parents to select a school which will be appropriately religious as they see it may be examined in the light of relevant American and European experience. Perhaps other aspects of the value of freedom are kept from their full development by an overriding concern for the right of the parent to choose the school which meets his religious requirements.

In short, presuppositions about the sectarian character of all religious education and about the nature of religious freedom may be more fully examined through a certain kind of intercultural study of educational policies in the matter.

It should also be noticed that the judgments and appraisals made by one working in this area, including the author, are conditioned by the cultural ingredients resulting in one's point of view. Inquiry into educational policy is never free from the selection and interpretation of the components of the problem, its data and evidences. Furthermore, if inquiry is relevant to the empirical demands of concrete human situations, it also involves the appraisal of policy matters in terms of some culturally conditioned standards. This does not mean that such inquiry rests only on subjective and arbitrary grounds. It does suggest that the basis for these appraisals should be recognizable, that they should in some measure be available for public inspection, and that as far as possible the influence of the values at stake in these judgments be indicated. These are major demands, and undoubtedly all value-involved inquiry falls short of their fulfillment. Yet they need to be posted as a directive framework for the construction of the problem and the interpretation of its findings.

In this project the general perspective of the author may be suggested by a few statements offered here in highly abbreviated form. Although they merit much fuller discussion they provide some clues as to the framework within which the project proceeds.

The values of a free people represented by certain interpretations of such terms as freedom, equality, open-mindedness, respect, participation, and the like may be fruitfully used to describe and interpret a nation's policy about religion and the schools. Although we are not in complete agreement in our interpretations of these values, free peoples have had enough experience with what they indicate in the concrete situations of life to suggest their use in judgments of public policy. These values, enlisting the loyalty and support of a free people, provide an operative framework for the study of problems which have long been approached by adamant entrenched interests.

This use of the educational values of a free people to transcend the limitations of partisan strife is not to be understood as hostility to religious interests. It is to be distinguished from a narrow and militant secularism which seeks to be promulgated as another kind of religion through the public schools. Here there is no effort to reduce the religious impulse to the status of superstition or to cancel out of a culture its roots in religious experience and institutions. However, the role of the church in the determination of public educational policy should be brought within the range of scrutiny provided by the educational values of a free people.

With these considerations in mind, the study undertakes the study of public policy concerning religion and the schools from a point of view which is independent of particular church affiliation. It represents an effort to provide an alternative to the view that one must bring an active and committed participation in a specific church to the forefront of the discussion of policy in this area. It is the educational interest and the educational values which remain in the fore and which seek to provide for the maximum growth of religious experience for all.

We are already involved in a third range of conditions which this project faces, matters concerning valuation and value judgment, and have been suggesting that the present study, as any other in this field, is conditioned by the values and value methodology of the author. Furthermore, not only is religion itself intertwined with value appraisals, but the relations between religion and public education are fraught with value judgments. A culture's way of handling the matter is an expression of its values. The judgments expressed by organized interest groups and by individuals are functions of their values. We need to consider not a value theory in technical terms but a set of conditions relevant to the value aspects of the tasks that lie ahead.

It is helpful to distinguish between (1) 'the values of a culture', including those of an institution within a culture, and (2) the components of an act of 'making value judgments'. Although intertwined in inquiry, the first refers to expressions of what is taken to be desirable (or in some usages what is taken to be desired) in a particular society or point of view. The second refers to the ingredients of the process of appraisal. In preceding sections of this writing we have for the most part been suggesting conditions and problems relative to the first side of the distinction. Thus we have pointed to the desirability of revealing a culture's policies in its own framework of values and of searching the implicit value presuppositions of a culture. We now attend, however sketchily, to the ingredients of the second side of the distinction, the appraisal and grounding of value judgments.

Here, another distinction of a somewhat different quality is helpful. A value judgment may be made in a situation where the standard that one is using is quite widely known and commonly recognized. We can say that one should brush his teeth regularly because the standard of oral hygiene in relation to good health is commonly recognized and accepted. There is not much dispute about the matter and it does not run into conflict with other judgments about what is desirable. The educational policy is clear since the criterion is not in dispute, and the relation between an act and its consequences is common knowledge. But there are other value judgments that are made in the absence of generally recognized standards and where one judgment competes or conflicts with others about what is desirable. In problems about religion and the schools, value judgments of this order abound because we do not have a commonly accepted criterion and the interest of one segment of the social order conflicts with another. Judgments here pertain to the standard itself, not merely to how closely we approximate a commonly recognized standard in our policies and practices.

In valuations of this kind, although the problems are extensive and pervasive, we are not without guidance. As we have already suggested, a value judgment where the criterion of value is itself at stake is at least more reasonable when its meaning, grounds, and relationships with other values is explicit and public. It is made more objective by recognizing and stating its presence and relationships. Furthermore, the obscure standard is related to other criteria, not all of which may be equally obscure. Thus other values may be used to clarify the one in question. In the field of our concern, although the criteria for judging the school's relations with religion are in question, we do have some clarity and some measure of agreement about some related criteria, for instance, those concerning intellectual and moral freedom and equality of opportunity in educational matters and the like. This does not ignore the problems involved in these other areas or those concerning the relationships between them. It does suggest, however, that the clarification of the standard in question may be promoted by examining the network of other criteria in association with which the standard in question is to be interpreted.

These other values, for example, the value of freedom, need attention. The question is: what conceptions of the value of freedom are associated with what policies about religion and education and what is the nature and what the consequences of that association? While anything like a full discussion of the value of freedom cannot be attempted, some consideration of its meaning and of the range of its influence is appropriate. The distinction between essentially negative conceptions (freedom from: restraint, ignorance, coercively restrictive habits, and the like) and positive conceptions (freedom to: engage in self-chosen activities, associate, inquire, and the like) promises to be fruitful. The relations between various views of the proper function of the state and freedom of choice are appropriate to the endeavor. In short, without some attention to the meaning and bearing of the value of freedom, we are deprived of a basis for interpreting and assessing policies about religion and education.

However, we know that conceptions of freedom apart from conceptions about equality are tenuous and incompletely interpreted. We would do well to have in mind the distinction between conceptions of freedom opposing it to equality and those which build mutually supporting relations between freedom and equality. When the freedom accorded to individuals denies or negates the equality of treatment and of opportunity of others, a limiting conception of freedom is operative. It is, of course, important to distinguish between those meanings of equality which connote identity of treatment from those which point to extension of the quality of opportunity appropriate to the full range of self-realization. In conceptions of equality, as in those of freedom, it is the authorization of the concept, in this case the way it is grounded in a concern for the full development of the individual, that provides the fullest means of assessing the meaning of public policy.

These considerations of the character of value assessments suggest another distinction of central importance. It relates to an aspect of the difference between facts and values. A factual claim involves some measure of judgment since it expresses something selected from the range of possibilities and is interpreted according to some other facts together with the basis for identifying their meanings. It does not, however, involve a commitment to ideals hoped for in the sense which a value claim always expresses. While we should ground our judgments in empirically derived evidences, the justification of a value claim is to be found more focally in the character of the commitment to which it points. It is difficult to specify precisely what this means for the current inquiry, but among other things, it at least suggests the appraisal of the consequences of the commitment. Unless we point to the way in which a policy involves a commitment to some aim with its attendant consequences, we have no ready means to obtain anything resembling an empirical basis for the assessment of policy. The point will presumably become clearer as we attempt to refine what is meant by policy.

A fourth set of conditions and problems faced by the study of religion and public schools centers in the use of the term 'policy'. We attempt to clarify its meaning by noticing that it refers to a selected relatively consistent course of action maintained in a variety of instances over a period of time. If one has a policy, he has a preference for a course of action and the preference is more than a transient attitude. It endures and, although it may be modified as circumstances change, it indicates how a matter will be handled in a variety of instances. It gives a constancy to the direction of one's efforts and enables one to strive for one kind of outcome rather than another throughout a range of activity.

In the absence of policy, action is undertaken on an ad hoc basis. It is likely to favor one thing today and other tomorrow. It lacks sustained guiding direction and may favor opposed and incompatible ends. One can, of course, be said to have a policy to have no policy, to handle each case expediently as it arises, without a clear regard for outcomes anticipated and used as directive guideposts. To have no policy, however, usually means either that policies are flexible or that one is unclear about conditions or desirable outcomes or both and hence has a problem of policy development.

Individuals, institutions, communities, cultures, and organizations of all kinds may have policies of varying degrees of articulation and clarity. The policies may be narrow or comprehensive, flexible or rigid, carefully developed or loosely assembled. To the degree that they are brought under the control and design of thought, they exemplify a relation between means and ends. That is, they predict that some outcome conceived as desirable is thought to be achieved more fully by some mediating action and that actions of this kind should be undertaken.

Policies may be made clearer by attending to what they aim at, by clarifying the steps that should be undertaken in the direction of these outcomes, by securing more reliable information about the conditions within which they are to operate, by comparing one policy with another, by determining the way in which one policy conflicts with or sustains another, and many others. We gain understanding of policies by a host of processes including: looking over a series of events which have been dealt with in an effort to determine what the tendency of decisions has been; proposing alternative possibilities in the presence of changing conditions; building into a policy the means for scrutinizing and changing it; and the like.

A working definition of policy for our purposes, then, sees it as a value-involved interpretation of what one should be about in concrete human situations so that choices will be made in terms of preferred ends. Policies are regulative norms derived from the consideration of relations between means and ends and seeking to guide decisions so that their total effect will eventually secure more fully what is wanted. Thus policies serve to join aspirations or objectives with present conditions and realities. In a sense they are the empirically operating aspects of our ideals. Their function is to enable purposes to make a difference in decisions.

In this sense policies have an ethical dimension: they express an "ought" or "should". Although policies may and presumably should reflect a grounding in descriptive considerations, they are by their nature valuative. They have the character of urging others to accept a regulative norm in the management of situations of common concern. In them one is being propositioned to go along with a certain controlling interest in the matter.

Since these regulative norms express what ought to be done in a range of concrete human situations, they may be studied as expressions of the enduring values of a social group. Such study provides a way to sense the range and meaning of values that are otherwise only partially revealed in the affairs of the group. In this sense the study of public policy yields a handle upon the frequently implicit valuations of a cultural group. A reciprocal relation is involved here. One can see more clearly the implicit values of a people through study of their expressions of public policy. One can also understand the policies more fully through relating them to the wider range of values of a people. Public policies may thus be seen as expressions of something frequently called 'national character', and one is dealing with the way a people provide for agreement and variation within its view of what it means to be a member of its society.

Policies may, of course, pertain to and be framed about many different levels of concreteness and abstractness, particularity and generality, partiality and objectivity, theoretical and practical considerations and the like. They may be concerned with matters of trivial, or peripheral, or of central importance. As exemplified in the affairs of the classroom, a teacher may have a policy of wearing colorful neckties, of encouraging an informal atmosphere in the classroom, of appealing to the textbook as an authority for settling the argument, or of maintaining his neutrality in matters of controversy and personal commitment.

However, in so far as policies serve as directive norms, they by their nature guide a plurality of cases and this distinguishes them from decisions. Decisions are made in the light of policies. In the absence of directive norms decisions are discrete and perhaps contradictory. We may decide in a particular case to depart from policy or to extend the policy to a new range of affairs. In any event, a policy is more inclusive than a decision both in the sense of including more instances and in the sense of pointing to matters of a broader range of significance.

The relationship between a rule or regulation and a policy should also be made clear. They are similar in many respects. A policy serves much the same function as a rule since it is also a directive for action. It tells us in general terms what should be done. However, a policy is not a prescription in the sense of laying down specific steps to be taken to fulfill a general command. Rules develop from policies and may be taken as the further steps in implementation of a regulative norm. They are not substitutes for policy but more detailed elaboration of steps in the execution of policy. An inspection of rules and of their interpretation in practice may tell us much about the meaning of policy.

While policies are marked off from decisions on the one hand, they are on the other hand to be distinguished from abstract statements of principle. To the degree that the latter deal with generalizations devoid of the context of a human situation, i.e. of conditions of time and of place, they fail to satisfy one of the requirements of policy. This is, of course, by no means to decry the importance of highly abstract statements of all kinds. It is simply to draw into focus the contextual character of policy. It develops within some determinate social and institutional setting and refers to a way of dealing with matters in that setting. The maxim that one should love his neighbor as himself, though it may be an exemplary moral principle, is not, according to this stipulation, a policy.

Policy statements are also to be distinguished from postulates, from statements that set the ground rules for discourse, or in more technical terms, from formal or analytical statements. They are also to be distinguished from statements about ultimates, i.e., metaphysical, theological, or a priori propositions. To put it in an oversimplified but perhaps more revealing way, while people in concrete human situations have to agree in some measure about their policies, they may disagree basically about their ultimates. At least within the framework of democratic societies, they not only may but are encouraged to hold quite different convictions about man's relations with the ultimate grounds of his existence. This matter should not be misunderstood. It seems clear that policies are not directly and necessarily related in a one to one way to theories about the ultimate grounds of all existence. This does not mean that one's general philosophy of life or one's political philosophy has no bearing upon his conceptions of desirable regulative norms for his decisions. Nor does it mean that theological and metaphysical conceptions have no bearing upon these operating norms. The general character of one's basic premises may color extensively one's interpretations of policy. It does mean that we do not have to agree upon theological and metaphysical conceptions in order to come to substantial agreement about our regulative norms in the concrete situations of life. It is an important guiding conception that men can share common policy positions and not be bound to agree about the full range of the grounds upon which some may choose to base their own justifications of policy.

The present undertaking also calls for some attention to the relations between policy, power, and social control. If policies, particularly in the fields of public affairs, are regulative norms expressing the values of a social group and are intended to guide decisions in particular cases, they are instruments whereby the power of particular interests is exerted at key points in the life of the group. The establishment of a public policy represents a form of control over the life arrangements of a people. Differences between policy proposals reveal among other things the struggle between various social groups as they seek to have their interests secured in the way of life of the group as a whole.

This suggests that one of the ways to clarify policies about an area such as religion and public education is to attempt to reveal the conflicts between various groups as they seek to have their preferences achieved in operating patterns of policy. A study of educational policy in this area might ask: who, speaking from what position of power in a society, seeks to secure what ends, through advocating what policy or changes in existing policy? The analysis suggested by the various parts of this question would provide some measure of understanding on empirical grounds the shaping of policy in a nation's life.

It is time to draw these considerations into focus as they bear on the design of the study. It should be clear that we do not expect to find a one-to-one correspondence between the conditions faced by the inquiry and the steps to be taken in pursuing the study of policies in the countries under consideration. It is expected, however, that the considerations we have just been entertaining will suggest phases of the study and control the interpretation of the entire design of inquiry. They will also serve to delimit the effort, to focus upon the meaning and development of policy about religion and the schools rather than to be concerned with many other aspects of the problems of religious education, the comparative study of the structure of education, and the like.

In what follows we seek to sketch the outlines of a set of interrelated tasks and to entertain some appropriate qualifications about their fulfillment in the three countries studied. Although there is a certain kind of order involved in the following tasks this does not mean that they are undertaken in this project neatly in this order. In fact, a certain amount of approximation and correction, of projecting possible leads and refining or rejecting them as the work continued, characterizes the study. In short, a flexible set of tasks, rather than a rigid prescription of activity, was projected and modified as study went on.

It soon became evident that modification and adjustment of the phases of the study to differences between the cultures involved was needed. In England, for example, although one can identify a national policy, its meaning is to a major extent dependent upon local conditions and interpretations provided by local education authorities, leadership in the schools, the particular characteristics of a region (Wales, metropolitan London, East Anglia, the industrial North, and the like). In the Netherlands, on the other hand, although there are regional differences, the country is more compact, and the pattern of educational control much more centralized. This does not mean that there are no opportunities for local initiative in school affairs. It does mean that in the Netherlands one looks much more to the details of parliamentary enactment to provide the direction of education. The States-General performs what in many other countries would be done by regional or local educational authorities or school boards. Sweden, on the other hand, endeavors to apply to questions of national policy in an increasingly unified school system the fullest use of the products of investigation and research covering the whole nation. It is in the process of far-reaching school reform guided by the recommendations of various commissions, chief among them the 1957 School Commission, but also including a commission studying the relations between church and school. It is also marked by a high degree of homogeneity with respect to membership in a church, 99 percent of the people belonging to the Church of Sweden[1] and of course, this is not true of either England or the Netherlands.

Thus the description of national policy in each country is conditioned by a markedly different framework for educational policy.

DESCRIPTIVE TASKS

Task 1:

For each country studied we endeavor to state the present policy for managing questions concerning religion and (what Americans call) public schools. These descriptions of policy are derived largely from the examination of the nation's laws and the directives of the Ministry of Education and other national policy-making bodies or offices. These sources are used to provide the framework of national policy about the support of religious schools from public funds and religious instruction in state subsidized schools.

Task 2:

For each of the countries studied we seek to identify some of the main historical and social conditions to which present policies are responsive.. This involves tracing, if only in broad outlines, the development of policies concerning religion and the schools and indicating selectively and with appropriate examples the way in which the growth of policy has been related to the changing conditions of national life. Since the study seeks to cover a range of other matters, this must remain highly selective and exploratory in character. However, some major sources for more detailed study of the historical growth of present policy should be noted and the value of these contributions categorized and annotated as far as possible.

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[1] Berndt Gustafsson, THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN SWEDEN, Stockholm, The Swedish Institute, October, 1963, mimeographed, p. 8.

Task 3:

The study seeks to discover the pressures that have been brought to bear upon the development of present or recent policy. The question is: (1) who (2) has influenced some aspect of policy (3) from some position of power in the society (4) with what effectiveness? We seek to select from the quantity of materials dealing with religion and education those expressions of individual or, more typically, group interest which have been articulated in the settlement of current and recent policy. We want to describe through selected examples the role of power in the achievement of policy. If we are to reveal the way policy is produced, we should see it in the concrete exercise of power in certain directions in selected instances.

Task 4:

Turning now to policy proposals about changes in present policy, the study seeks to identify efforts to modify current policy in certain directions. It searches for evidences of dissatisfaction with present policy and of efforts to move its development toward outcomes taken to be more desirable. The question is: who is seeking to modify present policy in what direction? These changes may range from refinements within the general norms of present policy to more fundamental changes urging the redirection of policy in favor of particular interests. They may represent individual or organized interests. They may be made from points of view with various degrees of power and influence within the society.

Task 5:

Another avenue to the understanding of policy development is opened by a concern for investigation and research which bring to the assessment of policy some degree of educational expertness. These studies may be made by individuals or groups--committees, commissions and the like--and may be sponsored by educational, religious, or governmental agencies. They may pertain to the establishment of policy or to the consequences in practice of present policy.

Task 6:

Since the inspection of written materials reveals in general only the verbal formulations of policy, it should be supplemented by observation of the meaning of policy in the concrete life of the school. The question is: when one looks at practices in schools as distinct from enactments and arguments about policy, what does one learn from empirical situations about the meaning of policy in the life of the schools? This involves, of course, the selection of schools which represent the range of practice in different types of schools. It also involves the observation of the total atmosphere of the school and a considerable range of its activities as well as the particulars of religious education at the various class levels or forms.

INTERPRETATIVE TASKS

We come now to tasks which can hardly be said to be merely descriptive aspects of the study. They involve the interpretation of arguments, the grounds for urging policy proposals, the weighing of one consideration against another. One encounters in them in a much fuller way the criteria that are used in making assessments. Hence, these tasks are more directly concerned with values and need somewhat fuller indication of what is involved in them.

We need to repeat a qualification that has been mentioned in preceding pages. This involvement in value considerations and value judgments does not mean that the study judges educational policies in various countries in terms of an abstract standard of universal validity. It does not propose to evaluate in any exhaustive or inclusive way the adequacy of policies in European countries even in terms of their own assumptions and goals. It does endeavor to interpret what they are doing. To do so we need some criteria. However, these are not sufficient or adequate to appraise the pattern of one culture's policies in comparison with others. Some aspects of a country's policies may be seen to care for some considerations more adequately than others. Some groups may find their interests better cared for in one country's policies than in another. However, this does not mean that one nation's policy, appropriate to its own situation, is universally preferable to others. The point is that our value criteria are seen as appropriate to the interpretation of the country's responses to its conditions, but they are not laid down as norms justifying wholesale intercultural comparisons.

Task 7:

We have remarked that public policies reflect the general values of a people. These policies may be understood as the responses which a society makes to its sense of its traditional values as they are confronted with the demands of current conditions. The task concerns the collection of evidences about which traditional values are being continued and how contemporary conditions influence the continuity of these values. In a sense, which needs a good deal of qualification, the task looks for evidences revealing the bearing on public policy concerning religion and the schools of conceptions of 'national character' on the one hand and on the other thecultural demands of the day. The question is: what conceptions of 'traditional values' or of 'national character' or the like are operating under the impact of the need to do something in response to the social and cultural demands of the times and how are educational policies in some sense the products of these patterns and forces in the life of the group?

An instance may be in order:

In regard to the English Education Act of 1944, it is sometimes said that any settlement that did not incorporate the dual system of county schools (to Americans, public schools) and voluntary schools (to Americans, private religious schools) was unthinkable. It was inevitable, considering the character of English experience, that some settlement should be found which would refine the dual system rather than develop a single, unified system of state schools. Why was this so? What conditions of English life, particularly its traditions of educational policy, were at stake? Pursuing further this line of questioning: what assessments gave rise to this judgment as distinct from one favoring more far-reaching reform of the structure of English education? To sharpen the question still further: was the settlement instituted in 1944 the result of a common recognition and deeper understanding of the educational and religious convictions of the English people? Or was it rather a compromise under conditions of a balance of power between groups that had long held incompatible interests and goals? Although we may fall short of an unequivocal answer to the question, we hope to reveal some of the components involved in an interpretation lying between the two poles of the questions.

Task 8:

Central to the interpretation of policies in regard to religion and schooling are various aspects of the meaning of freedom. Although we shall attempt no theoretical analysis of freedom sufficient to assess the character and extent of the achievement of freedom in the countries studied, we need to indicate some of the dimensions of freedom and their relations with other values. This task relates to distinctions concerning the meaning of freedom and of values associated with freedom as they relate to the teaching of religion and to the public support of religious schools.

In the United States we have affirmed two interrelated principles: the separation of church and state and the principle of religious freedom. The European countries with which we are concerned have not founded their policies on the principle of separation although they have longstanding traditions of religious freedom. Each of these countries has a history of an established church. The Church of England and the Church of Sweden are still established churches, although the character of their establishment differs in many respects from its character in the past. In the Netherlands the presence of confessional political parties is very different from the American conception of the separation of religion and politics. Our questions concern what is meant by religious freedom in these countries and how its meaning relates to other civic and intellectual freedoms which are of central concern to democratic education. For religious freedom is not isolated from other aspects of freedom but derives much of its meaning from the nature and quality of its relations with other dimensions of the life of a free people.

One aspect of the meaning of freedom relates to freedom from ignorance. One is not free to make enlightened choices about matters in which he is inadequately informed. The learner must know that to which he is committed else his belief is blind and slavish. In the United States it is not at all clear that we have paid adequate attention in the public schools to the development of religious literacy. Religion is taught, if at all, as a corollary of other subjects. In European countries it is a subject of study in its own right. We are interested in how it is managed so that it meets educational values and standards. We want to discover the character of religious instruction as a course of study. We are concerned with policies concerning the understanding of different forms of Christian religion, of non-Christian religions, of the varieties of dissent. We seek to understand how the teaching of religion in these countries comes to grips with the demand for religious commitment on the one hand and for objectivity in teaching on the other.

We are interested in how religious freedom is related to the development of critical belief and conviction.

Another aspect of educational policy concerns the place and character of forms of worship in school in relation to the demand for religious literacy and conviction on the one hand and on the other the freedom of the individual to think for himself and to exercise intellectual and moral integrity. In regard to religious worship as well as the teaching of classes in religion we are interested in how respect for differing views is to be handled.

Since religious freedom has generally been conceived to include the freedom of parents to send their children to schools of their choice, we are interested in how policies cognizant of this right have related to other policies concerning freedom. Policies recognizing the right of the parent in this regard may conflict with policies supporting other fundamental values. The freedom of the learner to extend the range of his choice, to learn in school to respect in full measure the views of others, to cultivate habits of free inquiry and of deliberation in the presence of conflicting ideas may be submerged in the pursuit of a policy emphasizing only part of the fuller meaning of religious freedom. We are interested in interpreting how various experiences in European countries may extend or limit the school's role in providing a full and free interplay between diverse religious interests.

We are also concerned with how the freedom of one church or religious group relates to the freedom of another. In this regard we are interested in policies dealing with equality of opportunity for religious groups. We seek to discover how the opportunity of one church, or religious group, or combination of both, to extend its message through educational activity relates to the educational opportunities of other groups. Since the freedom of one group may support or deny the freedom of another, we may look for evidences concerning whether freedom and equality of opportunity are directly or inversely related. The critical tests seem to appear in the ways educational policies provide for religious minorities and diversity in religious experience.

Patterns of state support of religious schools will receive attention. We shall be interested in the historic conditions which have led to present policies of state subsidy of church schools and in the relations between the political processes and the efforts of interested groups to attain a full measure of state support. We shall want to reveal the impact upon public schools of patterns of state support of private schools and to discover any problems that have been experienced in regard to the control of religious schools that receive state subsidies. We shall be concerned with appraisals which are being made within the countries studied revealing the social consequences of their policies. We shall look into the consequences of policies providing state support of denominational schools for the structure of the society in an effort to discover what these consequences may suggest for various movements in American policy today.

In view of these lofty ambitions we might again call attention to the incomplete and exploratory character of the fulfillment of these interpretative tasks. Nonetheless, if we are to explore what Americans may learn from the policies of European nations, we should begin to explore in their own context the meanings of their policies. We shall select and interpret within the range of the tasks we have indicated but that does not mean that we shall find in all instances clear and unequivocal evidences pointing in a single direction.

A TASK CONCERNED WITH THE PROCESSES OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Although the tasks which we have called "interpretative" have taken us far beyond the mere reporting of present policy and have involved judgments about which not all would concur, they have been framed with a regard for some of the values affirmed in democratic societies. Other aspects of the meaning of democratic ways of life might have been selected and would have involved somewhat different formulations of a normative kind. However, the ones we have selected seem of central importance. If the formulations used have direct bearing upon the interpretation of European policies concerning education and the schools, they also serve to open another matter for consideration.

Quite apart from the content of policies, there are other considerations about the processes used in these countries for the development of their policies. One of the things Americans might learn from European experience concerns not so much the particular settlements arrived at as the way European countries have gone about the business of building policy. We turn now to a task endeavoring to discover this aspect of the experiences of European countries.

Task 9:

We seek to discover what can be specified about the procedures, methods, and strategies that seem to be at work in policy development in certain European countries. It seems desirable to clarify the task by pointing to the kind of thing that some acquaintanceship with these cultures suggests.

One of the things which impresses an American observer is the extent and quality of attention given to educational problems and policies in many countries of Europe. Education is a common topic in the news, in radio and television broadcasts, in the platforms of political parties, in the study of national affairs, in legislative debates, in everyday conversation. The discussion of educational policy is well-informed and frequently reflects the interests of the component elements of the nation's power structure. We would do well to try to specify some of the influences contributing to this enlightened discussion of educational policy.

For example, in England there has been a series of committees appointed by the government to study educational problems. Some of the most valuable materials on English educational policy are found in the reports of the various advisory councils of the Ministry of Education. These reports have been helpful in focusing the attention of the country on key considerations. Similarly, in Sweden commissions have been appointed to look into the adequacy of educational policy, to college data, and to interpret the educational needs of a particular period of national life. These advisory groups in both countries have had considerable influence on legislative action. They have molded and refined the discussion of crucial issues both in the legislature and throughout the country. This suggests that American habits of policy development might be reconstructed to provide much more fully for a similar systematic and comprehensive review of educational directives.

Another example may suggest the range of evidences sought in this task. English policy requires that each local education authority appoint a committee to develop an agreed syllabus for religious instruction. These committees are made up of laymen, clergy, and educators and thus different points of view are brought to the conference table. The consequences of this process of developing an educational program through the give and take of traditionally conflicting interests are of considerable importance. They suggest that a general policy may give rise to procedures which in turn facilitate the development of other policies. Societies in which religious interests are segregated and in which educational values and problems may not be cooperatively confronted may be deprived of one of the sources of the growth of more enlightened policy.

The examples are intended to suggest a range of evidences concerning what Americans could learn from the procedures of other countries. It is of course possible that Americans could profit from seeing the potentially undesirable consequences for them of some procedures. In this task we should be alert to both aspects of learning from the experiences of others.

PROCEDURES

These tasks give rise to certain procedures. We have already said that the tasks did not emerge full-blown from a purely rational analysis but were the result of a process of approximation and correction. We have tried to make it clear that they are not all of the same order. Even within the descriptive ones they are not units; there may be many times more material or more determinate evidence and hence more considerations about selecting evidences and sources, in one than in another. Furthermore, the tasks are flexible in the sense that the fulfillment of them may be found to lie in somewhat different areas in the different countries. The efforts of pressure groups in the United States takes the form of what we call "lobbying". In European societies the representation of these interests in the area we are studying may be built into the parliamentary process itself, as in the Netherlands. Or it may be managed as a semi-official commission or other arrangement bringing the interests of the special group and of the state into a recognized and responsible form of control, as in Sweden. The point is that the tasks and the procedures to fulfill them are modified by the nature of the context but they seek to reveal the kind of concern stated in the tasks.

We turn then to the fulfillment of the tasks in the countries studied. We shall for the sake of clarity deal with each country independently although later on we shall want to bring them under a more unified view. We shall move from England to the Netherlands and then to Sweden. This was the order in which study was undertaken, for in many ways English experience was thought to be more available. The study could profit from what it discovered there in its investigation in the Netherlands and in Sweden.

The statement of the tasks as it was developed through various drafts helped to explain the project to others, particularly to those who have helped to assemble the evidences. Clearly they are not to be held responsible for the particular structure or formulation of the tasks or for the interpretations of the evidences. But without the help of colleagues who could select and penetrate into the areas where evidences were to be sought, the tasks would have been formidable.

In the immediately following chapters we shall follow by and large the order of the tasks as they have been presented, but we shall not hesitate to depart from this order or to insert additional explanatory materials as they seem needed.

CHAPTER II

POLICY CONCERNING RELIGION AND THE SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

INTRODUCTION

When an American educator visits an English school at the opening of the school day, he is confronted with a situation that is radically different from anything he has been accustomed to in the United States. He arrives at the time of the daily act of worship.

The visitor may join some of the masters as they sit at the sides of the assembly hall, or he may stand in the yard while the worship service is conducted out of doors, or he may be asked to join the processional as a simple wooden cross made by the students in the school's shop is carried by one of the students to the platform. He may participate in the singing of a hymn, the reading of a collective response, the offering of a prayer. He will typically find the ceremony brief, dignified, worshipful. The headmaster, if he has announcements or other academic concerns to take up with the entire school, will separate these matters from the period of worship.

The students will probably be brought actively into the act of worship, perhaps by one of them reading from the Bible or from some other appropriate expression of Christian belief. If the head does not conduct the assemblage, the master who instructs in religious education will probably do so.

The visitor may join a group of students and a master who go to another room provided for Roman Catholics. He will probably not encounter any instance of a student's withdrawing from this religious activity, or any instance of a master's withdrawal from it, although either might occur and would be accepted as a matter of course.

The visitor may come to a school in which the act of religious worship is performed in a rather perfunctory manner. He may visit a school in which worship occurs in homerooms since there is no place in the school in which the entire school body can assemble. In some of these rooms it may be difficult to identify an act of worship. However, the visitor will clearly sense that the quality of the school's religious attitude, as well as its academic atmosphere, is a function of the headmaster's convictions and sense of values. Most heads and teachers support the daily act of worship since it sets the tone of the school and unites its efforts with those of the historic English Christian tradition. Yet, as we shall see, evidences point also to considerable opposition to worship in school and suggest that its acceptance as a national policy would be difficult to achieve today.

THE STATUTORY PROVISIONS OF 1944

In England and Wales an act of Parliament states the conditions under which public funds are provided for the support of church schools.[1] The act also requires religious worship and religious instruction in all schools within the national system. This is the only subject of the curriculum prescribed by an act of Parliament. In schools provided wholly by public authorities the instruction is to follow an agreed syllabus drawn up by conferences of representatives of the churches, the teachers, and the local educational authorities. In schools established by churches and continued under church control, though supported in part by public funds, religious instruction is in accordance with the teaching of the church which founded the school.

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[1] Educational policies in Scotland and in North Ireland are regulated by acts other than those pertaining to England and Wales. Scotland and North Ireland have separate educational systems of their own with their own administrative systems.

This general framework of policy concerning religion and schooling is established by the Education Act, 1944. It is frequently referred to as the Butler Act since Mr. R. A. Butler, who more recently held the office of Foreign Secretary, was then President of the Board of Education and was largely responsible for the content of the Bill as well as for the processes which secured its enactment. When in 1944 the Board of Education became the Ministry of Education, Mr. Butler became the first Minister of Education.

The Education Act, 1944 has been amended by Education Acts 1946, 1948, and 1953 and the Education Act, 1959 extended provisions laid down in the earlier enactment. However, these acts have not altered the basic policies instituted by the Butler Act.

Provisions for the support of church established schools from state funds and for the teaching of religion in the public schools are not isolated phenomena. They are parts of a government's efforts to achieve a comprehensive program of school reform. The Education Act, 1944 established a basic pattern for a national system of education and drew into this national system in one degree or another a variety of schools of different backgrounds which were already in existence. It established basic policies for achieving certain goals in primary, secondary, and further education and laid out schedules for achieving the changes that were called for. It developed in considerable detail and with much care for avoidance of misunderstanding the rules by which these policies and goals were to be achieved. The Act established the administrative machinery for extending the range of educational opportunity from infancy to adulthood, for providing special educational treatment for those needing it, and for maintaining a high quality of schooling.

Integral in all this and providing in a sense the conditions by which a national program of educational reform could be advanced was a settlement of the religious question. English policies about religion and schooling are not discrete and self-contained. These statements about the place of religion in public education are part and parcel of a larger effort to extend educational opportunity of an appropriate quality to a larger number of the people.

The Act includes various strands from previous Education Acts. Among them it continued the existence of "Local Education Authorities" which provide much of the structural unity of English education and are brought in many respects under the direction and continued influence of the Ministry. These L.E.A.s refer to the county and county borough councils which were earlier empowered to deal with local educational support and control in place of various boards of education. The Butler Act provides that the L.E.A.s should establish and control "county schools", those which Americans would call "public schools". Since the Act also provides that schools established by the churches would be brought within the national system, it contains a dual system of schools; county schools directly under the control of public authorities; voluntary aided schools under the management of church-appointed bodies.

In both county and voluntary schools Section 25 of the Act mandates that the school day shall begin with an act of collective worship to be attended by all students. Only if the L.E.A. for the county schools or the managers or governors of voluntary schools think it impractical because of the nature of the school premises may there be any exception. In addition, religious instruction must be given in each school of either type.

Only if a parent requests withdrawal from worship or religious instruction or both may any student be excused.

The Act goes on to describe the way in which a student who is withdrawn shall be provided with opportunity to receive religious instruction elsewhere during school hours. It informs L.E.A.s that their responsibilities in regard to secular instruction in voluntary schools should not interfere with provisions for religious instruction. In county or voluntary schools an effort should be made to provide for religious observances by the religious body chosen by the parent, but this should not entail expenditure by the L.E.A.

The act of collective worship "shall not, in any county school, be distinctive of any particular religious denomination, and the religious instruction . . . at a county school . . . shall be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus adopted for the school or for those pupils and shall not include any catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination." (Section 26)

Another section of the Act provides for the way in which the L.E.A. shall receive help in developing the agreed syllabus and the teaching materials and methods appropriate to it. The L.E.A. shall appoint the members of an advisory council to produce a syllabus and if such a council produces unanimous recommendations, the L.E.A. is bound to "have regard" for them.

An additional schedule provides more detailed directions for the preparing and use of the agreed syllabus. The L.E.A. shall appoint to advisory councils or committees members of religious denominations that represent the circumstances of the area. The Church of England shall be represented "except in the case of an area in Wales or Monmouthshire." Teachers should be represented. The L.E.A. itself should be represented. It is "the duty of the conference to seek unanimous agreement upon a syllabus of religious instruction." They may adopt more than one syllabus and designate for whom it should be used. Further provisions allow for sub-committees and for the adoption of the resulting syllabuses by the L.E.A.s. If unanimous agreement is not reached or the Minister is not satisfied, he shall appoint a committee of experienced persons to prepare the syllabus. Thus the L.E.A. is the arm of the Ministry, and the Ministry will see to it that a syllabus is produced.

A further provision is made for the review of any agreed syllabus and for the further use of the Ministry's authority to see to it that an agreed syllabus is achieved and adopted. L.E.A.s should also reconsider any temporary syllabus, convene a conference which is to seek unanimous agreement, and if this fails, the Minister shall appoint a committee to prepare the syllabus. In short, the Act mandates the L.E.A.s to see to it that a syllabus to which all agree is provided.

Section 30 also provides that "no person shall be disqualified by reason of his religious opinions, nor of his attending or omitting to attend religious worship, from being a teacher in a county school or in any voluntary school." Nor shall he be required to give religious instruction or be discriminated against in salary or promotion or any other way for not giving this instruction or for refraining from attending religious worship. This provision is qualified in regard to teachers in two types of voluntary schools, and to these distinctions we now turn.

A voluntary school is one maintained wholly or partly by the local authority, but not established by it; its voluntary foundation is recognized by certain clauses concerning its management and provisions for certain privileges concerning the appointment of staff, the conduct of religious observances and teaching, rights of property, and the like. Many schools which were initially established by a particular church or church society have been supported by public funds since the establishing society or denomination found itself unable under modern conditions to provide adequate support for these schools. Various arrangements have been tried over the years to relieve this situation. The problem faced by Mr. Butler and Mr. Chuter Ede, who was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education, and their associates was to find some practical policy for bringing church schools into a confederation of national schools.

Voluntary schools are divided into three categories: controlled schools, aided schools, and special arrangement schools, and it is provided that the Minister will decide to which category a school belongs after an application by the school is made to him.

A controlled school is one in which the L.E.A. take over the responsibility for all the expenses of maintaining the school, including alterations and additions to bring it up to certain standards. In exchange for this support, the control of the school is to be vested in the L.E.A. through their appointment of two thirds of the members of the managing or governing body while one third are appointed by the body which founded the school.

Religious instruction, is to be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus, unless at the request of the parents it may be given in accordance with the trust deed, i.e., the charter of the school.[2] In this case, for not more than two periods a week such instruction is given by "reserved teachers." These are teachers who have prepared to give denominational instruction. A formula determines how many of these teachers should be appointed for schools of differing sizes; not more than one fifth of the teaching staff may be reserved teachers. The foundation managers or governors have the power of concurring or of vetoing the L.E.A.'s selection of reserved teachers, who shall also be dismissed as reserved teachers if the foundation governors or managers find the teaching ineffective or unsuitable to the contract founding the school. The appointment and dismissal of other teachers, i.e., teachers of the secular subjects, is under the control of the L.E.A., but a section of a 1945 Act "make(s) it appear that teachers are in the service of the managers or governors and not of the local education authority."[3]

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[2] In practice, in many voluntary controlled schools a form is distributed to parents in which they, through their signature, approve the religious teaching of the school. The technical request becomes simply a signature of approval.

[3] James G. Laidler, Voluntary Schools (London: National Society and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d.), p. 31.

In aided schools and in special agreement schools, in contrast with controlled schools, religious instruction is under the control of the managers or governors of the school and must accord with the terms of the trust deed of the school or with the practice observed in the school before it became a part of the national system as a voluntary school. This means in effect that it is a denominational or church-directed school. In an aided school two thirds of the managing or governing body are to be appointed by the foundation establishing the school and one third by the L.E.A. The employment of teachers is to be regulated by the rules of management or articles of government for the school, i.e., teachers are in the employment of the managers or governors. In aided schools teachers of denominational religious instruction, if they fail to give instruction efficiently and suitably, may be dismissed by the managers or governors without the consent of the L.E.A.[4] If parents desire it, religious instruction according to an agreed syllabus must be provided.

Various provisions for determining the financial support of these schools are given in the Butler Act and modified in subsequent acts. In general, under the Act of 1944 the church or denomination was to undertake to meet half the costs of structural improvements and external repairs while the L.E.A. paid the salaries and the costs of running the school. The Act of 1959 cuts the contribution of the church from one half to one fourth and subject to certain limitations[5] provides 75 percent of the cost of a new secondary aided school if the need for it can be shown to result from the enrollments in primary aided schools.

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[4] Laidler, pp. 46-47.

[5] Detailed in Sir William Alexander and F. Barraclough, County and Voluntary Schools (London: Councils and Education Press, 3rd Ed., 1963, Ch. 3).

Special agreement schools include those in which adjustments were needed in order to provide funds for the fulfillment of an agreement made in the Act of 1936. In this Act subsidies were available for denominational efforts to build reorganized schools. L.E.A.s could for a limited period pay from 50 to 75 percent of the cost of building secondary schools. The outbreak of war in September, 1939, had interrupted the fulfillment of these agreements and in the 1944 Act these agreements initiated as an emergency measure were revived.[6] Since special agreement schools are denominational schools, their policies in regard to religious instruction are those of the aided schools.

A number of other schools, whether established by churches or by nonsectarian trust foundations, are brought less directly into relationship with the national system. "Direct grant schools", usually grammar schools, are schools recognized and aided by the Ministry of Education rather than supported and controlled by the L.E.A.s. Most of these schools were exclusive secondary schools. In order to qualify for direct grants these schools must meet certain conditions: they must not be conducted for profit; they must select their pupils not according to ability to pay but according to ability to profit from schooling; and they must reserve a certain number of places to non-fee-paying pupils who may be selected and paid for by the governors or by the L.E.A.[7] In

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[6] Marjorie Cruickshank, The Church and State in English Education (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1963), pp. 132-35.

[7] British Information Service, Education in Great Britain (London: Cox & Sharland Ltd, 1960), p. 10.

1943 there were 232 direct grant schools;[8] in 1962, 179 direct grant grammars and a small number of other types of schools.[9]

Outside the range of schools receiving direct support from public funds are, of course, the independent schools. These include the famous "public schools" such as Eton, Winchester, Harrow and the like and a number of others, many of them "preparatory schools", i.e., preparatory for various "public schools." One of the unforeseen results of the war years was that the public schools "many of which before the war had been close to bankruptcy--emerged stronger than ever before, with over 20 percent more pupils" as estimated by the Headmaster's Conference.[10] The Education Act, 1944 in Part III provides for a register of all independent schools, this listing to help see to it that the premises, the accommodations, the instruction, and the character of proprietors and teachers will be suitable. According to the Ministry's report, Education in 1963 of a total of 3,762 on the register, 1,550 are "recognized as efficient" by the Ministry. There are nearly eight times as many schools maintained by public authorities as there are independent schools.

Direct grant and independent schools do not afford us any particular handle on English policies concerning religion and schooling in state supported schools. In many of these schools the denominational instruction is similar to that of denominational or parochial schools in the

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[8] British Information Service, p. 12.

[9] The Ministry of Education, Statistics of Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962), Part I, p. 50.

[10] Anthony Sampson, Anatomy of Britain (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 175.

United States. However, these schools do help fill in the picture of the variety of English schools and help to complete the picture of attempts to bring private schools in various degrees and ways into a national system.

In short, a dual system of private and state-controlled schools is continued in present policy, but in a highly elaborated and detailed way. It has been characterized as a masterpiece of synthesis, the balanced putting together of opposed tendencies. "The Act itself was at once a synthesis and an instrument for forging various syntheses necessary to the growth of a social democracy; it seeks to create," Mr. Butler observed, "a synthesis between order and liberty, local initiative and national direction, voluntary agencies and the State, and the private life of the school and the public life of the neighborhood."[11]

INTERPRETATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE PROVISIONS

English policy thus recognizes different types of schools which have developed within the English tradition, and provides for different kinds of relationships of these schools to the Ministry and to the sources of public funds. It thus allows privately established schools as well as those established by public authorities to find a place in the national system. Thus the various churches--Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Dissenting or Free Churches--choose the kind of relationship their schools are to have within the national system.

This has worked out so that in 1960, as the accompanying table indicates, about 77 percent of a total school population of almost seven

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[11] W. O. Lester Smith, Education in Great Britain (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 125.

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TABLE 1. THE STATUS AND DENOMINATION OF SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, JANUARY, 1960*

	Junior and Infant		All-Age		Secondary		Total	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
CHURCH OF ENGLAND								
Aided	2,999	326,651	175	24,642	139	43,642	3,313	394,935
Controlled	4,212	401,540	181	22,839	83	26,329	4,476	450,708
Special agreement	2	285	1	165	25	9,667	28	10,117
Not determined	15	2,372	---	----	2	690	17	3,062
Total	7,228	730,848	357	47,646	249	80,328	7,834	858,822
ROMAN CATHOLIC								
Aided	1,246	290,765	479	126,606	254	90,713	1,979	508,084
Controlled	1	39	---	----	1	138	2	177
Special agreement	---	----	1	435	90	38,392	91	38,827
Total	1,247	290,804	480	127,041	345	129,243	2,072	547,088
OTHER VOLUNTARY								
Aided	52	6,416	5	949	93	46,538	150	53,903
Controlled	125	14,706	14	1,622	165	76.311	304	92,639
Special agreement	---	----	--	----	1	255	1	255
Total	177	21,122	19	2,571	259	123,104	455	146,797
County	13,555	2,890,999	425	90,092	4,948	2,390,483	18,928	5,371,574
All Schools	22,207	3,933,773	1,281	267,350	5,801	2,723,158	29,289	6,924,281

*Tudor David, Church and School (London: Councils and Education Press Ltd, 1961), p. 20.

million were enrolled in county schools; slightly more than 12 percent were enrolled in Church of England schools; slightly less than 8 percent were enrolled in Roman Catholic schools; about 2 percent were enrolled in schools of other denominations. The Roman Catholic Church chose to retain control over the schools which it founded. Of almost 8,000 Church of England schools, about 42 percent were aided; about 57 percent were controlled, i.e., came under the control of the L.E.A.s. Of the schools of the Free Churches, about 300 became controlled and 150 became aided.

These figures should be interpreted in the light of a number of conditions. About one of every ten of the population of Britain is Catholic.[12] Anglican schools were essentially rural; 90 percent of Roman Catholic schools were urban.[13] The Roman Catholic schools enrolled more than 100,000 more pupils in their aided schools than did the Anglicans.[14] The average size of an Anglican school numbered 111; that of a Roman catholic school, 211; and that of a county school, 283.[15]

In addition to the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free Church schools there is a small but increasing number of students in separate Jewish schools. Before the first world war over 9,000 children attended Jewish schools.[16] This figure declined after the first war but has increased again since the 1940s. According to a series of articles published in 1961, more than 6,000 students were in attendance at Jewish aided schools; 4,000 of them in London, the rest mostly in Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool. These are largely Orthodox Jewish children. There are an estimated 32,000 Jewish children aged 5 to 15 in London, and 16,000 in the other large cities.[17]

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[12] Sampson, p. 170.

[13] Cruickshank, pp. 175-6.

[14] Tudor David, Church and School (London: Councils and Education Press Ltd, 1961), p. 20.

[15] Cruickshank, p. 176 n.

[16] According to Dr. Isidore Fishman, Director of Education, London Board of Jewish Religious Education, these are (in 1964) about 9,000 children in Great Britain and Ireland attending Jewish Day Schools.

The Status of Religious Education in the Curriculum

One of the effects of the Education Act, 1944, is to give the study of religion a place in the school's schedule of studies which places it on a par with, or some think above, other studies. The study of religion does not have to be confined to hours at either the beginning or the end of the school day. This unfavorable location of religious instruction in the time schedule had been the rule in earlier legislation. Furthermore, in the Butler Act the study of religion in county schools is subject to inspection by the Ministry as is any other subject. Section 77 (5) provides for the inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectors of religious instruction in schools maintained by L.E.A.s. In voluntary schools, where denominational religion is taught, inspection is arranged by the governors.

But of more importance than these in bringing the study of religion to a level comparable with other subjects is the matter of providing for examinations in religion within the British pattern of examinations. Although we cannot explore it adequately here, we must observe that much of English (as well as European) education is characterized and ruled by examinations which select and channel the careers of boys and girls. A subject which does not have examination status is typically regarded as of inferior academic importance in an English school. The upgrading of religious education by enabling students to elect it within the pattern of subjects in which they will be examined for entrance to higher or continued education is most significant in elevating the status of the study of religion. Closely related to this is the elevation of religion as a field of study for those preparing to teach.

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[17] David, p. 14.

Furthermore, it may be observed that English policy affords religion a privileged place among the subject matters of instruction. Not only is it the only subject matter prescribed by Parliament. The mandated act of worship provides for an experience in religion as well as for knowledge of the scriptures and of Christian doctrine. In these ways, among others, religion is given a position that is not accorded other subjects, for the government does not specify other subjects to be taught, or how the syllabus in them is to be developed, nor does it make necessary an opportunity to practice them. On the other hand, religion is the only subject for which statutory right of withdrawal exists.

Interdenominational Christianity

As we have seen, English policy governing religious instruction in county schools involves the building of an agreed syllabus by an educational committee in the county and care must be taken to see that the content of this syllabus shall not favor any particular denomination. The instruction is to be interdenominational Christianity. Although the term "Christian" is not used in the statutes, it is clear from the context of the entire matter that both the act of collective worship and religious instruction were to strengthen the Christian framework of English tradition and experience. Mr. Chuter Ede said during the debate in Parliament, "There is, I think, a general recognition that even if parents themselves have in the course of life encountered difficulties that have led them into doubts and hesitations, they do desire that their children shall have a grounding in the principles of the Christian faith as it ought to be practised in this country."[18] The main emphasis in religious instruction falls upon an understanding of the Bible as a whole, a more detailed knowledge of the Gospels and the life and teaching of Jesus, and a knowledge of the common creeds and sacraments of the Christian Churches.

This means that the school should teach the common essentials of Christian doctrine. "The purpose of an agreed syllabus is that the religion taught in the unsectarian schools maintained or aided by the state should be Christianity which all the Churches profess."[19] The instruction is to encompass the doctrines upon which the protestant churches can agree. It is thus not an effort to teach about religion in the sense of an objective presentation of factual material and an effort to avoid being partial to any particular view. It is rather teaching which is convinced of the importance of Christian interdenominational faith and doctrine. While this instruction may not exclude knowledge of other religious traditions, the main justification of religious instruction is not that a citizen of the modern world should understand the cultures of the world, including their religions, and hence should be objectively informed about them. Of course, the teaching of Christian doctrine and belief does not formally exclude knowledge of other religions, but the rationale of English policy clearly centers on Christian conviction rather than intercultural understanding.

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[18] Smith, p. 129.

[19] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools (London: National Society and Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1957), pp. 28-9.

The central responsibility of interdenominational Christian religious instruction consists in teaching the English Bible. When those working in this area are questioned concerning the basis on which material is selected for religious instruction, the usual response refers to that which is relevant to the Bible.

> Is it to be assumed that the syllabus should be mainly or wholly Biblical? Such a question must not be taken to imply the exclusion of other material relevant to the origin and dissemination of the Christian faith—church history, for example, to which agreed syllabuses have very properly given a considerable place, or the Apostles' Creed, which patently is not the distinctive tenet of any Church or Churches. But unquestionably the Churches regard the teaching in the Bible as the primary source of Christian doctrine, and Christianity takes its rise from the historical facts recorded in the New Testament.[20]

The policy affirms the centrality of knowledge of the Bible to Christian faith, and religious instruction in England refers primarily to teaching the Protestant Bible.

When one asks further about what is included within an interdenominational interpretation of the Protestant Bible, one is typically referred to the Apostle's Creed. As expressed by an experienced and highly qualified inspector of religious education in an interview, "We have found no real difficulty in determining the common basis for religious education. Denominational doctrinal differences may be distinguished from what all adhere to within the framework of the Apostle's Creed. We need to work at making common Christianity meaningful, and we no longer get excited about differences in the interpretation of the essential truth." The point is that immersion as held by the Baptists is representative of a particular denominational doctrine which is not to be included in religious instruction while the assertions of belief of the Apostle's Creed are taken to be undenominational (i.e., interdenominational).

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[20] Institute of Christian Education, Agreed Syllabuses and Their Revision (Wallington, Surrey: The Religious Education Press Ltd, n.d.), p. 17.

The problem here concerns which interpretation of the meaning of the Creed is to be used to determine when instruction is denominational and when it is interdenominational. Typically the response indicates that a wide range of interpretations may be used. For instance, the section, "He descended into Hell" may be interpreted "more literally" or "more figuratively." However, the impression is given that more "fundamentalistic" interpretations are not as desirably Christian as others. There appear to be some limits to the range of desirable interpretations of the meaning of the Creed. It also suggests that those who prefer to be known as Christians on the basis of the quality of life that is lived rather than on the basis of belief in creeds may also be excluded. The point is that interpretations of interdenominational Christianity seem to refer to those forms of Christian belief which are recognized to fall within the mainstream of English denominational effort.[21] We shall return to this point in ensuing discussions.

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[21] Gordon C. Lee, "Church, State and School in England," Teachers College Record, LVI (Jan., 1955), p. 211. Here he points to the BBC's policy that the air waves are available only to those churches which are "in the mainstream of the Christian tradition."

It is clear that the meaning of "religious instruction" takes for granted that it will be Christian and Protestant, and the meaning of "Christian" is given in doctrinal terms. This may be seen clearly in a statement concerning religious beliefs given in a pamphlet of the Ministry of Education in 1949, and reprinted in 1961.

> . . . The Christian religion, perhaps more than some others, has concerned itself with social duties on earth. It has exalted the dignity of human personality. It has stressed the brotherhood of man and emphasized the need of good works, as a necessary part of men's duty to God. For Christians, men are brothers because God is their Father and good works are justified not only by their fruits but because they fulfill God's will and contribute to the Kingdom of Heaven.
>
> This raises for the good citizen the problem of theological belief. To hold a spiritual faith does not bind a man to every article of a particular creed, but there are some essentials on which no religion can compromise. It must, for instance, accept a code of right and wrong, based on absolute values. Christians, and some others, would add that it must acknowledge a personal God who, having created the world, retains a just and merciful interest in every one of His creatures.[22]

Statements of this kind make it clear that the role of religious education is not merely to inform children and youth about the Bible and the essentials of undenominational Christian tradition. It aims to secure belief in doctrines taken to be held in common by the main churches in the culture. English policy seeks believers, membership in a "worshipful community," and in this sense religion is given a special place in the curriculum, and a position which is not given to other academic studies. In subsequent pages we shall be concerned with the extent to which this policy is endorsed today.

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[22] Ministry of Education, Citizens Growing Up (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), p. 11.

Withdrawal from Religion

The conception of freedom involved in this policy of undenominational religion is contained in the provision for parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction or worship or both and in the provision that teachers shall not be discriminated against because of refraining from the religious worship or instruction in schools. It is exemplified in county schools by the withdrawal of Roman Catholic students from the program of worship and religious instruction under the agreed syllabus. Thus a student is not compelled to participate in worship or religious instruction which is not acceptable to his parents.

Aside from the withdrawal of Roman Catholic and Jewish students attending county schools, it appears that there are very few cases of students being withdrawn.[23] The reasons are not totally clear. Perhaps these parents of secularistic tendencies are not strongly enough convinced of their views to withdraw their children. Perhaps they prefer to have their children experience and understand that from which they themselves differ. Perhaps those most convinced of their point of view send their children to other, i.e., independent schools. Perhaps the voice of dissent in modern England is muted through a complex of cultural factors that have placed dissent on the defensive. At any rate, one hears repeatedly that there are very few instances of withdrawal of children from the agreed syllabus program and that in existing cases one finds no discrimination, academic or social, against those who are withdrawn.

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[23] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 12.

Whether this means that a full sense of freedom is operative in English policy is another question. It is clear that policy in England assumes that one is not free in religious matters simply by being left alone. ". . . Nothing could be more fatal than to use any subject to mould the child to a pattern--except the negligence that leaves him to be moulded accidentally, but no less indelibly, by the base and dangerous chance influences that abound in the modern world of propaganda and cheap and effortless amusements."[24] The conception of freedom involved in English policy does not hold that education should refrain from molding the child in the dominant religious pattern of his culture.

It is also clear that this policy is grounded in the view that if one is to attain religious and intellectual freedom, he must know the traditions in which he is nourished or from which he is departing. Enlightenment, not ignorance, is a condition of freedom, and it is less than a full measure of freedom to be free from that which one does not understand.

A question remains however concerning the range of religious belief and experience in which the young are enlightened. A school program cannot include all of the religious interpretations and beliefs which a culture makes available; it must be selective. However, the criteria for selection may value maximally the opportunity for the individual to be as fully informed as possible so that he can make up his own mind. Or they may value most centrally the preservation of what has already been established. To put it in terms of educational policy, the school may provide a widest possible range of alternatives for the free choice of the individual. Or it may provide a range of interpretations within the limits of a framework about which there is no choice.

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[24] Ministry of Education, p. 42.

English policy, as we have noticed, assumes the production of "believers" or "members in a worshipful community." There may be a range of interpretation of doctrine within the church; there may be a choice between Christian churches; but the weight of English policy favors individual choice only within the framework of the acceptance of traditional and dominant creedal beliefs.

The Act of Worship

It has been pointed out that English policy affords a central place for the teaching of interdenominational protestant Christianity. In the act of 1944 religious instruction was up-graded and an experience in an act of worship was mandatory. Religion was to be practiced as well as taught in the school. It was not just to be taught about; it was to be taught in the sense of seeking believers. In this sense religion was given a special place in the curriculum. English policy does not merely direct that the young be informed about the religious basis of English culture. It prefers that they be brought into a living worshipful community.

This policy gives religion a distinctive place in the content of schooling in the sense that neither the content of religious education nor the performance of the act of worship is to be left to the vagaries of local educational authorities, teachers, or community interests. Furthermore, it expresses the judgment that worship without study of "divinity" will not do. The young are to be informed participative members of a worshipful community. Moreover, the act of worship not only provides an opportunity for an orderly beginning of the school day. It "sets the tone," as one is frequently informed, for the entire program of the school. It is intended that a Christian spirit pervade the atmosphere and work of the school.

It is commonly understood in English schools that the act of worship is not to be diluted with the rest of the business of running a school. It is not to serve as an opportunity merely to carry on the secular announcements of the school's activities. On the contrary, the act of devotion is present to counteract the "secular" movements and tendencies in modern English life.[25] This does not mean that the ingredients of the service itself are to be deliberately anti-secularistic in tone. It does mean that English educational policy is not neutral in regard to cultural movements which bear upon traditional religious beliefs and values. It means that the weight of educational policy is to be thrown into an effort to have the Christian spirit, in the sense in which we have identified it, serve as the preferred basis for interpreting value problems in the school.

The 1957 revision of the Report of the Research Committee of the Institute of Christian Education[26] says that the Parliamentary requirement of daily worship has not done more harm than good, as some had feared, but has directed attention to form and content as well as to meaning and purpose in worship. They "perceive no tendency to foster a 'school religion', impoverished in itself and mischievous in so far as it might offer a substitute for worship in the churches". The Report finds that the hymns and prayers of all churches are drawn upon, and although there is some indifference, presumably on the part of some headmasters, most desire to have their schools "worship God in spirit and in truth."

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[25] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), 276.

[26] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, pp. 108-109.

In a sense English educational policy responds to the general character of religion in Britain as described by some students of the English scene. Michael Argyle, for instance, has observed what he finds to be the differences between religion in the United States and in England.

> . . . in America religion is more liberal and more secularized, and it is attuned to the values of the prosperous middle class. In Britain religion has maintained its traditional character, and changes in society and personality have resulted in a decline of interest.[27]

In general, churches in England have far fewer secular activities associated with them; they have rather "maintained their traditional character." Educational policy is to support this "traditional character." It is to bring the young, through knowledge of Christian tradition and forms, as well as through participation in the act of worship, into the fold of Christian worshippers.

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[27] Michael Argyle, Religious Behavior (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 38.

But it is to do more than this. The policy means, not only that the Protestant Bible should be taught. Christianity, as defined by those who give a "mainstream," though not necessarily orthodox, interpretation to the Apostles' Creed and the like, should be taught. It also means that the schools should seek to encourage identification with and eventual membership in the church.

While teachers may withdraw from the expression of Christian commitment, the expression of Christian convictions is sanctioned by civic law. It has been observed that although here is no lawful test of religious identification for the selection or promotion of educators (teachers or masters), it is more likely in certain instances that an educator who expressed an active concern with Christian belief and worship would be appointed a headmaster. The effect of British policy is to provide through the L.E.A.s a considerable preference for Christian leadership if the local community favors it. The National Union of Teachers reports as recently as January and July 1964, cases in which teachers applying for positions felt they were discriminated against by questions concerning willingness to accept classes in religious instruction.[28] Diana Dewar reports in her recent Backward Christian Soldiers that: "The head teacher of a large mixed infants school . . ., a committed Christian, told me she would feel most unhappy if any of her staff felt unable conscientiously to teach religion. She said, 'I would ask them to get a transfer.'"[29]

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[28] The Teacher, January 10 and July 10, 1964.

[29] Diana Dewar, Backward Christian Soldiers (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, 1964), p. 167.

An example may show the thoroughly Christian character of many English schools. In a county junior school, the equivalent of an elementary public school in the States, the teacher pointed with considerable pride to the extensive handwork of the children. The school rooms contained an imposing array of products made by the children showing their use of paper, paints, weaving of various materials and the like. Many figures of religious significance: angels, Biblical costumes, illustrated copies of Bible verses and the like were on display--many more than would be found in most Sunday School classrooms in America. In reponse to a comment concerning the extent of religious themes present in the artistic and creative work of these children, the teacher observed that one should visit the school in the Christian season or on other holy days, for then one would see much more fully their use of Christian themes. To an American visitor, it was difficult to visualize a school more full of Christian faith and doctrine.

English policy provides, if the local education authorities and the educators wish it, a school program that encourages at many points and at levels appropriate to the child's development, an identification with a Christian outlook and with a church. Speaking of the agreed syllabuses published since the 1944 act, the Institute of Christian Education says:

> ". . . Increasing attention is paid in them to worship and the aim of the teaching is declared to be that children should understand and accept the Christian faith and follow the Christian way of life, while in more recent syllabuses the hope is expressed that school worship and religious instruction will, in the words of the Introduction to the Lindsey syllabus, 'increasingly

lead pupils to become and remain full members of a worshipping community outside the school.'[30]

HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

The Education Act of 1944 is clearly designed to provide a basis for continuing, with modifications, a historic policy in English education. Although new provisions for the control of schools were set up, the provisions for religious instruction and the subsidy of church schools built upon an enduring tradition that education should be Christian. The church since the days of the cathedral school and the charity school has had a major role in English education. When the state entered the field in the 19th century the church had a record of centuries of effort in behalf of schools. The Act of 1944 in appealing to a spirit of tolerance and respect for others offered a concrete basis in policy and practice for an acceptable settlement of what had earlier torn English communities apart. When one looks at the current policy in the light of those of the past, one appreciates both the continuity and the new dimensions of the 1944 settlement.

Asher Tropp in his history of the teaching profession reminds us of the qualifications to be used in the choice of a master for the charity schools.

> He was to be:
>
> 1. A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years.
> 2. One that frequents the Holy Communion.

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[30] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 27.

3. One that hath a good government of himself and passions.
4. One of a meek temper and humble behavior.
5. One of a good genius for teaching.
6. One who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish, or ordinary, on examination.
7. One who can write a good hand, and who understands the grounds of arithmetic.
8. One who keeps good order in his family.
9. One who is approved by the minister of the parish (being a subscriber) before he be presented to be licensed by the ordinary.[31]

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which was formed in 1698, thus sought to ensure that the teachers of the charity schools would be soundly based in Anglican faith.

Although in English history there were a number of schools fulfilling different purposes, and although the Statute of Artificers of 1406, taken by some to be the first English education act, says "every man or woman, of what state or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm",[32] the main direction of early English policy was that education was the business of the church alone. According to

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[31] Asher Tropp, The School Teachers (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1959), p. 6.

[32] Smith, p. 26.

Lester Smith, in the centuries up to the Renaissance there was no secular control or content of education, and there was no alternative to the policy that education is inseparable from religion.

The place of the established Anglican church in the founding and control of school is further exemplified in one of the Canons of 1604 which states: "No man shall teach either in public school or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the diocese or Ordinary of the place . . . being found meet as well for . . . right understanding of God's true religion . . . ." As W. O. Lester Smith says, "This division of the nation into Anglicans versus the rest . . . had permanent disruptive consequences in our national life, and was a prime cause of the denominational quarrels which have bedevilled our modern education system."[33]

Subsequent movements associated with the Puritan Revolution did not fundamentally alter the presupposition that ecclesiastical authority was basic to the control of education although they provided some of the seeds which much later developed into movements favorable to toleration. The Puritan regime continued the intolerance of the Anglican. As W. O. Lester Smith puts it:

> The Reformation had destroyed the medieval conception of a world governed by Pope and Emperor; its place had been taken by a nationalism in which Church and State were regarded as equivalent and coterminous . . . Anglicans were merely putting this doctrine into practice when they demanded that all education within the Realm should conform to a particular pattern: so, in their turn, were the Calvinist Puritans of the Long Parliament. Although the two combatants differed in their interpretation of Christianity and in their politics, they were in complete agreement in believing

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[33] Smith, pp. 29-30.

> that there should be one Church-State and that parents should be obedient to its decrees concerning the education of their children.[34]

It was only after the famous Clarendon Code of the Restoration Parliament, the consequent rise of the Dissenting academies, and the movements toward toleration (The Toleration Act of 1689) that there appeared challenges to the older Anglican and Puritan orthodoxies.

The Clarendon Code with its penal laws keeping Dissenters and Roman Catholics from any lawful part in the government of local and national level and forcing them to have their children educated in the Established Church was "designed to break the political and educational influence of non-Anglicans for all time".[35] In addition its consequence was to put the religious question squarely into the social structure of English life for the center of dissent was found in middle and lower classes while Anglicanism was representative of the gentry.

The religious settlement of 1944 should beyond doubt be seen against the background of the long and bitter struggle between competing interests among others, the Anglicans and Nonconformists. It had its roots in the earlier traditions of ecclesiastic control of education and in the repressive conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it became much more acute in the latter part of the eighteenth century due to the rapidly changing economic and social conditions in English life. Industrialization and the growth of factory towns made the situation more critical. In all of this struggle the fundamental question was not whether religion should be taught or public subsidy given for denominational schools. The question was rather how these arrangements should be managed and which competing interest should be satisfied.

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[34] Smith, p. 39.

[35] Smith, p. 41.

This is shown by what one study calls the "battle royal" between Joseph Priestley and Dr. Brown of Newcastle in 1765. "Brown urged the establishment of a centralized authority in education which should secure national patriotism and religious orthodoxy, while Priestley's plea was for voluntaryism in education holding that the vital thing in education was to ensure a progressive variety of opinion."[36] Yet Priestley held religion to be central in the broader curriculum which he was urging. Those who opposed the Establishment most fervently were also deeply committed to Christianity as the core of education, although they meant a purified form of the faith.

The nineteenth century is generally regarded as of crucial importance in the development of English educational policy for it began to see the active participation of the state in connection with the educational activity of the churches. In 1833 Parliament, recognizing that voluntary efforts were insufficient to provide for the needs of the vast numbers of children in industrial areas, granted for the first time state subsidies. The money was provided through the two church school societies: the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, founded in 1811, and the

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[36] Travis, Marjorie A. (Marjorie A. Cruickshank), The Reform of the Dual System in England and Wales 1941-44, M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1950, p. 82.

British and Foreign School Society, established by non-conformists in 1814. These societies, representing the deep division in religious life, were the main agencies for common education in the greater part of the nineteenth century. Their conflicting conceptions of religion and of instruction in religion led to prolonged and bitter controversy.

This controversy was a center of concern in Parliament. The Whig government in 1839 initiated a plan for state control including the creation of a committee for distributing Parliamentary grants, the setting up of a system of inspection of schools receiving grants, and the founding of a non-sectarian normal school. Intense opposition by the Church led to the dropping of the proposal for the state school for the training of teachers. There was long and bitter struggle over the question of inspection, eventually settled by a compromise affording the Church the right to nominate inspectors. The period was characterized by slow advances by the state as it began to attain a more active partnership with the churches.[37]

One of the interesting episodes in the development of a national system concerns the Liverpool experiment in the years 1836-1842. In Liverpool there were large numbers of Roman Catholic children since many Irish had moved into the manufacturing districts of England. Since at least one-fourth of the population was Roman Catholic, there were far more poor children than could be provided for by voluntary efforts. In these years the Liberals had gained enough political strength in Liverpool that they were able to control the Town Council. As a result of these factors, among others, "Corporation Schools" were established in which children of Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Non-Conformist faiths were educated together in publicly owned schools. The Bible was studied in a form appropriate to the church membership of the pupil and religious instruction given under the representatives of the various churches. The management of these municipal elementary schools was entrusted to an Education Committee appointed by the Town Council.

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[37] Cruickshank, pp. 3-4.

According to the Proceedings of the Committee initiating this policy:

> As respects the management of the Schools, there is no doubt some difficulty in arranging plans for their future conduct so as to change them from their former exclusive character, and make them accessible to and desirable for the instruction of all classes of Christians. This change is imperative on a body representing all the different Religious Sects of Christians all of whom contribute to the maintenance of the Schools. The Committee feel no doubt of being able to arrange Plans for the conduct of the Schools which by the exercise of a little mutual concession, and liberal, they may say Christian, feeling will prove generally satisfactory and promote the general object of a useful moral and religious Education of the Poor. The Committee feel they have undertaken a very serious duty, and that they could not therefore without a violation of that trust for which they are responsible delegate the management of the Schools to other hands, however respectable, and especially to the Clergy of one particular persuasion.[38]

This atmosphere of mutual concession and liberal and Christian feeling was not to be dominant in subsequent events.

It is remarkable that more than one hundred years before the Butler Act an effort had been made to educate children of all faiths in public schools and subsequently this experiment was to be rejected as a pattern of national policy. The full story of this incident provides interesting suggestions relative to the current opinion that any settlement in 1944 that did not involve the dual system was inconceivable.

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[38] James Murphy, The Religion Problem in English Education (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1959), p. 34.

In the period of the Liverpool experiment Roman Catholic authorities did not insist that children of their faith should attend only Roman Catholic schools. At that time a Cardinal of the Roman church said:

> I think that in this country and in Ireland such an arrangement could be made, that both Protestants and Catholics could attend anything in the form of an University or Public School, without any harm ensuing, good might perhaps be done. I think also that in the lower branches of education it might easily be managed to give them a common education, reserving the religious education of their respective classes to their own pastors.[39]

Furthermore, the Holy See, not yet having hardened its position, was able to resolve that:

> . . . no judgment should be definitely pronounced in this matter; and that this kind of education should be left to the prudent discretion and religious conscience of each individual bishop.[40]

The clergy should be vigilant and cautious and should try to obtain by degrees a better order of things. They should refrain from such controversy that might interfere with desirable educational policies.

However, in 1842 as the conservative reaction set in and control passed to a conservative council, it was ruled that the children should be instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England and that all the children would read the Authorized Version of the Bible and join in (Anglican) prayer. As a result, the Roman Catholic children, under the leadership of their clergy, withdrew from the schools.

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[39] Murphy, p. 19.

[40] Murphy, p. 139.

It is also clear from the historical account that the intolerance and intemperance of some parts of the press and of some of the influential Anglican clergy were important contributing reasons for the reversal of policy. The attitude of the Anglicans was consistently opposed to any compromise that would lessen the influence of the Establishment on the control of education. An "intelligent, if not altogether unbiased observer" reported in 1841: "Toryism and Churchism are in the ascendant, and reign with undisputed sway. The Liberal party are disheartened, and have virtually (not virtuously) abandoned the contest. Bigotry, encouraged by the want of opposition, speaks out more and more boldly . . . . More complete spiritual subjection I never saw."[41] The conservative clergy were particularly opposed to the experiment in Liverpool if it was represented as having any directive impact upon national policy.

The development of educational policy in these years was dominated by an unfortunate involvement in the activities of a political election. Much distortion of the basic merits of the educational question developed as exaggerated claims, wild accusations, and bitterness of an electoral campaign dominated the field. So much passion was aroused that the question of providing an education for the increasing numbers of poor children was virtually submerged.

As a result, when it was proposed several years later (1850) that Roman Catholic children might attend common public schools for secular instruction only, it was rejected from all sides. The atmosphere was the reverse of that which characterized the initiation of the experiment. A commentator observed that "from 20,000 to 30,000 of the juvenile population of Liverpool were growing up in a state of comparative barbarism, and worse than barbarism, inasmuch as they inherit vices from which the barbarian savage is free".[42] Thus a chapter in English policy which might have forecast an integrated national pattern of common schooling ended with the reinforcement of the pattern of voluntary schools and an increasing inadequacy to provide for the ever larger numbers of children to be educated.

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[41] Murphy, p. 252.

The long story of controversy between the churches and those who sought to achieve a national system of education in which clerical control of the schools would be limited cannot be told here. Profoundly disturbing issues abounded concerning, among others: the increase of lay influence; the right of parents to obtain exemption from religious instruction for their children; efforts to obtain legislation providing government support for the growing need for adequate schools; the question of government subsidy dependent on results of examinations in the three R's; the place of religious instruction in the curriculum, and more specifically in the time table of the school; the question of inspection of religious instruction; proposals to establish neutral teacher training schools. Throughout, various strands of conditions bearing upon the character of the current national system of education are apparent. (1) The state's move to establish schools and to control religious

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[42] Murphy, p. 267.

instruction in state subsidized schools was distrusted and resented. Movements to have religious education pass into the hands of teachers rather than clergy were resisted. (2) Denominational efforts were seen as an integral part of any national educational endeavor. The "dual system" was seen as inevitable. (3) An emphatic Non-Conformist preference looked to control of schools by elected bodies with provisions for undenominational religious instruction. (4) A secularist or neutral school system was such a radical departure from tradition that it failed to receive any substantial measure of public support. (5) The association of church membership and power with various segments of the social structure--Anglicans, with the gentry; Non-Conformists, with the trade and commercial town groups; Roman Catholics, with the urban workers--tied the question of religion and schooling to conflicting social class and political interests.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870, establishing the "School Board Era" in English education, was a landmark in the growth of the national system. It set a pattern which has continued ever since for it established a publicly controlled system of elementary schools side by side with the church schools. It thus enacted the dual system, and at the same time underscored the problem of the place of religion in the state schools. Its solution to this problem included the famous Cowper-Temple clause according to which: "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school," referring, of course, to the public elementary school.[43] Thus the state was not neutral toward religious education; it provided the basis for undenominational teaching. Those matters upon which the churches could agree would be central in religious teaching. However, the question of the desirability of this clause was, in 1944 and continues to be today, controversial, some holding that it is highly prejudicial to true religion.

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[43] 33 & 34 Victoria, C. 75, Section 14 (2).

The Forster Act, i.e., the Act of 1870, also contained the important conscience clause, "the guarantee of religious freedom," as it is commonly called. In any schools receiving state subsidy parents have the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction.

Just as the question of religion dominated the settlement of the Forster Act, so the same question was crucial to the Balfour Act of 1902, which enacted a state system of secondary schools. Its provisions included: the expansion of the tax base so that local taxes ("rates") could be used in support of church schools; increased control by L.E.A.s over church schools; the reassertion of the Cowper-Temple and conscience clauses; guarantees that church schools could teach religion in accordance with their trust deeds. It led among other things to the refusal of some to pay their "rates," and "Rome on the rates" became the Nonconformist battle cry. Religious education became a central political question as the Liberal forces were mustered against the Conservative bill. Thus, although the lines of policy eventually assembled in the 1944 bill were being slowly developed, the friction and strife involved in the religious controversies delayed the fundamental extension of educational opportunity until after the experiences of the Second World War.

Events of the 1930s and early 1940s, including the debates associated with the Government White Paper of 1943 and the passage of the 1944 education bill, reveal a network of interrelated events and beliefs making possible a settlement in 1944 that could not have been achieved in the earlier great Education Acts of 1870 and 1902. Following the highly charged struggle associated with the 1902 act there appears to be a period in which many, disillusioned with the friction and strife, sought to stay clear of the problems associated with religious education. One senses a period of disillusionment especially in regard to the abortive efforts of the Liberals to reverse some of the provisions of 1902.[44]

However, in the 1920s certain events began to pave the way for a new approach to the matter. One of these was the initiative taken by the local authorities working with the churches to develop an agreed syllabus for religious instruction. The Cambridgeshire syllabus, appearing in 1924, offered a way to deal with religion so that instruction might be greatly improved in county schools. Associated with this beginning of the development of agreed syllabuses was the growth in the capacities of the teaching profession to teach religion. Teachers, consolidating their professional standing, as shown in the growth of the N.U.T.,[45] were more and more able to teach "scripture" or "divinity" as an educational subject matter. The development of syllabuses in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, and Middlesex led to the application of educational principles and controls to the teaching of religion. Teachers rather than clergy came more and more to control the teaching of religion.

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[44] Cruickshank, Ch. 5.

[45] Tropp, p. 172.

The Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, 1938, commonly called the Spens Report, gave considerable attention to the matter in its chapter on "Scripture." The Institute of Christian Education had been founded in 1935 and this institution sought, as did the Spens Report, to cultivate an effective and expert teaching of religion in the undenominational sense. The Spens Report indicates the new hope and the new direction for the teaching of Scripture.

It considers the "wide and genuine recognition of the value and importance of religious education" and "that the time is favourable for a fresh consideration" of the matter. It sought "an approach to the subject which can enlist the disinterested enthusiasm and give scope to the professional ability of teachers." Although teachers differed in their personal convictions, they had faith that the approach of the agreed syllabuses (developed by local education authorities) would be a fruitful solution for secondary schools. Religious education would be "justified as a regular part" of the curriculum only if it "included some serious study to which teachers have given not less thought and skill than to their other studies." Moreover, there was no "large body of opinion definitely favorable to an entirely secular secondary education."

The Report continued by making clear an educational justification for the teaching of religion by means of the agreed syllabus.

> It is often maintained that the study of the Bible should have a place in the curriculum for its literary value alone. We do not wish to underestimate that value. The English Bible is one of the glories of the literary heritage bequeathed to the English-speaking peoples. For that reason there is much to be said in favour of the inclusion of portions of the Bible in the

> syllabus of English literature. But it is also true that no boy or girl can be counted as properly educated unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life. The traditional form which that interpretation has taken in this country is Christian, and the principal justification for giving a place in the curriculum to the study of the Scriptures is that the Bible is the classic book of Christianity and forms the basis of the structure of Christian faith and worship. The content of the Bible has, therefore, inevitably its own dignity and associations. It can neither be treated merely as a part of English literature, nor can it be merged in the general study of history, though its meaning is, in the first instance at least, historically conditioned.[46]

Here is a clear statement of the educational, as distinct from the ecclesiastical, policy upon which the agreed syllabus program rests.

The Bible, the Report continues, "contains a body of perfectly intelligible ideas, which can be systematically presented and studied" and a teacher can present these ideas so that "the difficulty of appearing to take sides in traditional controversies may be avoided." Its study provides an "intellectual discipline" which is "historical and objective." Teachers should, of course, manifest their religious faith but this will enable them more effectively to reply to students' questions "without incurring the suspicion of either insincerity or prejudice--personal or denominational."

Although in later years some questions were to arise about the adequacy of the new approach, one senses in the Spens Report a fresh breeze blowing through, or perhaps, over, the older controversies.

It seems clear to one following the long story of religious controversy that the experiences of the war years were crucial contributing

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[46] Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), p. 208.

factors in producing the 1944 settlement. Careful study and preparation for the framing of the bill, prolonged consultation, and skillful search for compromise on the part of Mr. Butler and his colleagues were indispensable contributing factors. In addition, the realization of the need for educational reconstruction was brought more fully home to all. Evacuation of children brought to light extremely unfavorable social and educational conditions. Professor Savory pointed out in the Commons the lack of knowledge of the elements of Christianity among evacuated children.[47] The unity of effort called for by the war and the common interest in securing a suitable education for all contributed to making the time favorable to reform. The need for rebuilding of schools was evident and called for the cooperation of all segments of life.

Moreover, the atmosphere or climate of opinion called for a truce in the old religious struggle. Converging evidences suggest that, on the one hand, the contending parties were sensing that little further benefit would result from the older intransigencies. They were, in a sense, ready for a settlement. Britain had come through the holocaust and was not willing that older adamant resistances should stand in the way of educational reconstruction. "It has been remarked that in great national crises there is often a new responsiveness to the central realities of religion, with a corresponding decline of interest in matters which, though perhaps less fundamental, have been the subject of divisive controversy."[48] On the other hand, as Hilliard puts it:

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[47] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (20 January 1944), p. 433.

[48] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 27.

> . . . The opposition between the values inherent in our democratic way of life and those which had manifested themselves on the one hand in Nazism and on the other in Communism, itself made apparent the need for re-affirming and re-stating to the younger generation the nature and the basis of the values which form the foundations of democratic society as we in the West understand it.[49]

In the record of parliamentary debate it was repeatedly stated that these foundations were grounded in Christian principles. "It will be of little use to fight, as we are fighting today, for the preservation of Christian principles if Christianity itself is to have no future."[50] Despite the fact of a considerable amount of religious indifference, the people were said to be "perfectly aware that the totalitarian state . . . leaves something vital out, and there is a dim but almost universal understanding that the world will slither down again unless we all find a light to guide us by, a light that can be trusted. Throughout the whole of our schools a light ought to be made to shine."[51] It was readily assumed that this light was to be provided by the moral and spiritual values based in Christian principles.

Furthermore, it was commonly believed that the dual system, although inadequate in its existing form for what needed to be done, was none the less to be accepted as the basis for the post-war tasks of educational reconstruction. Mr. Butler, referring to the analysis of the

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[49] F. H. Hilliard, The Teacher and Religion (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd, 1963), p. 19.

[50] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 414.

[51] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 277.

White Paper of July, 1943, argued that the existing "system is incompatible with the effective organization of the schools of the country and with the wise and economical use of teaching power."[52] In the White Paper, Mr. Butler had taken the position that "the State, concerned though it is to ensure a sound religious basis for all education, cannot take on itself the full responsibility for fostering the teaching formularies distinctive of particular denominations designed to attach children to particular worshipping communities."[53] The government was trying to bring the church schools "into as close a degree of partnership as possible" and to eliminate as much friction as possible.[54] Hence, managers of church established schools were to choose between becoming controlled or aided schools.

In the preparations for the 1944 Bill and particularly in the Parliamentary debate, Mr. Butler made clear an essential condition, as he saw it, to the new settlement. "Throughout the history of church schools (in general) . . . two interweaving strands are discernible, namely, an ever-changing adjustment of the measure of public assistance to enable them to meet the ever-growing costs of education, accompanied by a steadily increasing measure of public control."[55] Mr. Butler was trying to make it clear to all parties that "any further increased public aid must be accompanied by increased public control" and that this was a traditional English policy. Any settlement which did not take adequate account of this policy would "imperil its general acceptance, and might bring about a reaction as detrimental to the churches as to the cause of education itself."[56]

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[52] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 277.

[53] Board of Education, Educational Reconstruction: 1943 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943), p. 15.

[54] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 277.

[55] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 226.

It was clear that the three major church groups for which a compromise had to be reached were the Anglicans, the Free Churchmen, and the Roman Catholics. The secular solution, as we have seen, did not offer a suitable basis for the continuation of traditional English policy, although strong opposition was expressed to church schools by trade unionists and other sections of the community.[57] Of the three church groups, the Free Churches found a large measure of satisfaction in the continuance of the Cowper-Temple clause and the provision for the withdrawal of children at the request of parents. Further, the right of teachers to withdraw from religious education and worship, together with the agreed syllabus approach to religious instruction, enabled them to see a number of their schools accept the status of controlled schools.

As Mr. Butler has observed[58] when the Anglicans were able to accept the Cowper-Temple principle and the principle of election between controlled and aided schools, an effective compromise within the context of the preservation of traditional Anglican principles was found. Anglicans were more favorably disposed toward an earlier attempted settlement, the Green Book,[59] which provided a firmer recognition of religion in the schools, the abolition of the Cowper-Temple Clause in secondary modern schools, and the abolition of the limitation on the number of reserved teachers (specialists in denominational religion). Cruickshank's account indicates extended discussion between Anglicans and between Anglicans and other government and Free Church leaders. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Church of England, seems to have been largely responsible for the acceptance, although unenthusiastic, of the 1944 Act. "Our main task," he said, "is surely not to be fighting a rearguard action in perpetual retreat until we are driven off the field by the competition of the resources of the State, but to take care that we are interpenetrating with our influence all that the State itself is doing."[60]

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[56] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 Jan. 1944), p. 230.

[57] Cruickshank, pp. 149-157.

[58] R. A. Butler, Foreword to Church and State in English Education by Marjorie Cruickshank, pp. vii-viii.

The Roman Catholics were, by and large, even more reluctant to accept the compromises Mr. Butler was proposing. They favored the Scottish solution, full government support of religious schools. They were, and continue to be, fundamentally opposed to the Cowper-Temple Clause in principle and as an ingredient of the compromise. On the other side, the National Union of Teachers as well as the Free Churches were unalterably opposed to these preferences. However, "the most determined opposition to the proposed settlement came from the Roman Catholics".[61] Finally, very favorable provisions for long-term loans allowed the Roman Church to enter the agreement although it felt that it had not obtained full justice.

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[59] Cruickshank, pp. 145-149.

[60] Cruickshank, p. 153.

[61] Cruickshank, p. 163.

The 1959 Act extended the grants to aided secondary schools to 75 percent where these schools continued the education of children at existing primary schools, and grammar, technical, and modern secondary schools were now qualified for the grant. It was carrying out the fuller support of denominational schools intended by the Butler Act.[62] This was a major assistance to the Catholic schools and enabled the Anglican schools, depending on the character of their dioceses and the vigor of their leaders, to consolidate and improve their quality. Although county schools and the giving of undenominational religious instruction predominate, the church schools have been harmoniously drawn into the national picture.

Cruickshank concludes that although the problem of complete justice in the sense of equal financial support still remains, the problem in the past "was confused by political and sectarian issues, but today public opinion is indifferent to religious feuds, and the political parties are no longer divided on a matter which can now be debated calmly and rationally."[63] We have yet to note whether this meaning of justice and of calm rationality in managing the religious question are as settled as these words indicate.

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[62] Cruickshank, p. 174.

[63] Cruickshank, p. 178.

THE ENACTMENTS OF 1959

In a revealing series of articles published originally in Education in 1961 and subsequently as a pamphlet, the 1959 Act was seen as bringing the settlement of fifteen years earlier back to the negotiating table. Churches were being forced to re-examine and clarify their policies. Although in educational conferences as well as in political debate the religious question was avoided,[64] the matter was receiving considerable attention by the churches. "A foreign observer would not readily glean that more than one child in five in England and Wales attends a church school and that 12 per cent of school building today is in the hands of the Churches."[65]

The 1959 Act, according to this view, had wider implications for the major church groups. The Roman Catholics, who are generally credited with being the main force behind the more generous provisions of the 1959 Act, had applied themselves diligently to achieve more schools at all levels and more support for them. The Free Churches were reappraising the policy whereby three out of every four of their schools had become controlled schools. In the Church of England the more recent view was that "a school which was not aided lost the capacity to impart a truly

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[64] "From 1906 to 1911 denominational schools came up at every single Labour Party Conference and Trade Union Congress. In 1911 it was excluded from future Labour agendas and in 1912 the TUC took the same decision. The issue which invariably became a battle between the Roman Catholics and the secularists--caused such disruption as to threaten the unity of both the party and the TUC on matters quite other than education." David, p. 4.

[65] David, p. 4.

Christian education."[66] Among Free Churchmen this view was also coming to prevail.

More specifically, the Roman Catholics have given over-riding priority to their schools. They have held fast to the policy affirming that every Roman Catholic child should be in a Roman Catholic primary or secondary school. "Their numbers are increasing more than the rest of the population; it has been said, in fact, that the 'Roman Catholic part of the educational system is the only one which is permanently expanding at the base.'"[67] An all-out effort was made to secure more financial support and an Action Committee has worked vigorously to bring Parliamentary support to a fuller measure of what the Church wanted. Nonconformist opposition was seen as weakening, and the Anglican view was more receptive to the Roman Catholic position. In the opinion expressed in Mr. David's articles, the Church of Rome will effectively press for support approaching, although short of, 100 percent. The biggest single problem is the need for teachers,[68] in which the Church is making a very

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[66] David, p. 16.

[67] David, p. 6.

[68] "There are two Catholic teacher training colleges for men, and ten for women. Several others are being created at this moment, as part of the national plan for educational expansion. These denominational teacher colleges receive 75 per cent State-grant towards their building expansion, and a full 100 per cent grant for maintenance. But Catholics who are university graduates, training for work in secondary grammar schools (U.S. senior high schools) are for the most part trained in the (secular) Education Departments of the universities. There is no Catholic university in England, and Catholic opinion is sharply divided on the desirability of one." A. C. F. Beales, "Appendix" in Callahan, ed., Federal Aid and Catholic Schools, p. 145.

In this connection it should also be noted that according to the Robbins Report (Higher Education Report: 1963, p. 27) "Local education authorities entered this field (i.e., the establishment of teacher big effort, marked by the suggestion that the 'wastage' of Roman Catholic teachers into non-Roman Catholic schools be stopped. All in all, one sees clearly a picture of vigorous and determined action to achieve a much fuller measure of support for Roman Catholic educational aims.

In appraising the present standing of the Free Churches, the articles by Tudor David suggest that there is a fundamental shift from the position of the "old guard" to a new educational policy. John Huxtable, a leading Free Churchman, is quoted as having said, "The gulf between what the Free Church experts in education desire, and what the guardians of Free Church tradition declare, is dangerously wide."[69] The new opinion, is "that far from there being anything wrong with the denominational school a Christian education cannot properly or adequately take place outside it."[70] This appraisal should be seen in the context of the historic position of Non-conformity which favored relinquishing their own schools to the control of L.E.A.s and opposed the church schools of the dual system.

Although the main thrust of the Free Churches in recent years has been to improve the agreed syllabus approach as they see it and to relate this to the life of the church, the Free Churches have also developed

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training colleges) in 1902 and are now responsible for ninety-eight of the present total of 146 colleges." Although the Robbins Report recommended that Catholic training colleges along with local authority training colleges be incorporated into University Schools of Education and so become degree-granting institutions, the Government has apparently sought to leave the administrative control of the training colleges much as it is but to encourage the universities to accept certain students as candidates for university degrees.

[69] David, p. 11.

[70] David, p. 11.

organizations seeking to present more effectively their point of view about educational policy. To this end they have established an Education Policy Committee composed of nine members, chiefly full-time officials from each of the main denominations. This high echelon committee was created largely in response to the request of the Ministry of Education for a body of Free Churchmen equivalent to the Church of England School Council with which the Minister could negotiate. There is also a Central Joint Education Policy Committee--in subsequent pages we shall deal more fully with its impact--composed of Anglican and Free Church representatives which seeks to arbitrate differences between these protestant interests.

Further, since both Anglicans and Roman Catholics have local policy-forming bodies based on their dioceses, the Free Church Federal Council has been forming local educational policy committees ("E.P.C.s") under the supervision of a Secretary for Education. According to the 1963 Annual Report[71] these E.P.C.s are now constituted in every area save the Isle of Man and in about two-thirds of the areas they are working with their counterparts in the Anglican dioceses. It has been emphasized that they "do not exist and must not be used for opposition to Church Schools of any kind 'on principle'."[72] They are to realize that for education to become "secular and materialistic is, in our day, a greater danger than that it should become denominational."[73]

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[71] Free Church Federal Council, Annual Report and Directory: 1963 (Saffron Walden, Essex: W. Hart & Son Ltd, 1963), p. 13.

[72] David, p. 13.

[73] David, p. 14.

Since, according to Mr. David, the same directive for the E.P.C.s also stated, "We are all concerned about the growing influence of Rome and the possibility of a Roman Catholic Education system within our national system has some ugly implications,"[74] problems associated with a policy of recommending denominational schools for Anglican and Free Churches but not for Roman Catholics are apparent. However, the 1963 Report of the Free Church Federal Council contains this statement:

> The Roman Catholics have made it known that they will shortly press for the extension of the present grants to apply to schools of all kinds. We are watching this matter closely in cooperation with the Anglicans. We feel that a purely negative approach will achieve little and create much bitterness. While we regret that this question has been raised again so soon, we feel that it is a challenge to us to seek a new and creative approach to the whole question of Church schools and religious instruction in County schools, within the context of the ecumenical movement and bearing in mind the common foe of secularism.
>
> Informal conversations are being held at the highest level between the three branches of the church. There is clearly a desire on all sides to avoid controversy and a determination to come to a common mind before any question of new legislation arises in political quarters.[75]

Thus the contention continues but is presently held at a level that avoids the older divisive political struggle.

Of the Jewish population in England probably most hold that integration is the only suitable answer for their group. However, Jewish groups are also organized to secure their interests in aided schools. An increasing number of orthodox Jews contend that within the pattern of schools in England they have an even better case than others for educating a Jewish child in a Jewish school under a policy of fuller support for denominational schooling. Most Jewish children receive religious instruction in part-time classes offered by Jewish religious organizations.[76]

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[74] David, p. 14.

[75] Free Church Federal Council, p. 14.

The articles by Tudor David provide an interesting picture of the enrollments in the various schools within the national system.[77] As the graphs showing the percentage of changes from 1950 to 1960 in county, Roman Catholic, and Anglican schools make clear, these years have seen a marked proportionate decline in Church of England school enrollments. Furthermore, "The Anglicans had 1,750,000 in their schools in 1911; 50 years later they have only half that number and in their aided schools only 400,000 children. The RC's have 550,000 in their schools (all aided) compared with less than 300,000 fifty years ago."[78] Anglicans, according to this analysis, are now reappraising their position. Some leading Anglican educators now take the view that they should reverse the tendency toward aided schools and should create modern schools able to impart "a truly Christian education."

The New York Times for August 16, 1964, reports that a record total of 777,000 children are now enrolled in Roman Catholic schools in England, an increase of 23,000 in the last year. In the same period the number of teachers rose to 30,500, a gain of 1,000. Furthermore, Diana Dewar in Backward Christian Soldiers (p. 27) drawing upon Catholic Education--A Handbook, 1962-3 reports that "During the 1960's Catholic children

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[76] Myer Dominitz, "Religious Education and Schools in the United Kingdom--Some Jewish Aspects," Religious Education, LXI (March-April, 1961), p. 137.

[77] David, p. 5.

[78] David, p. 15.

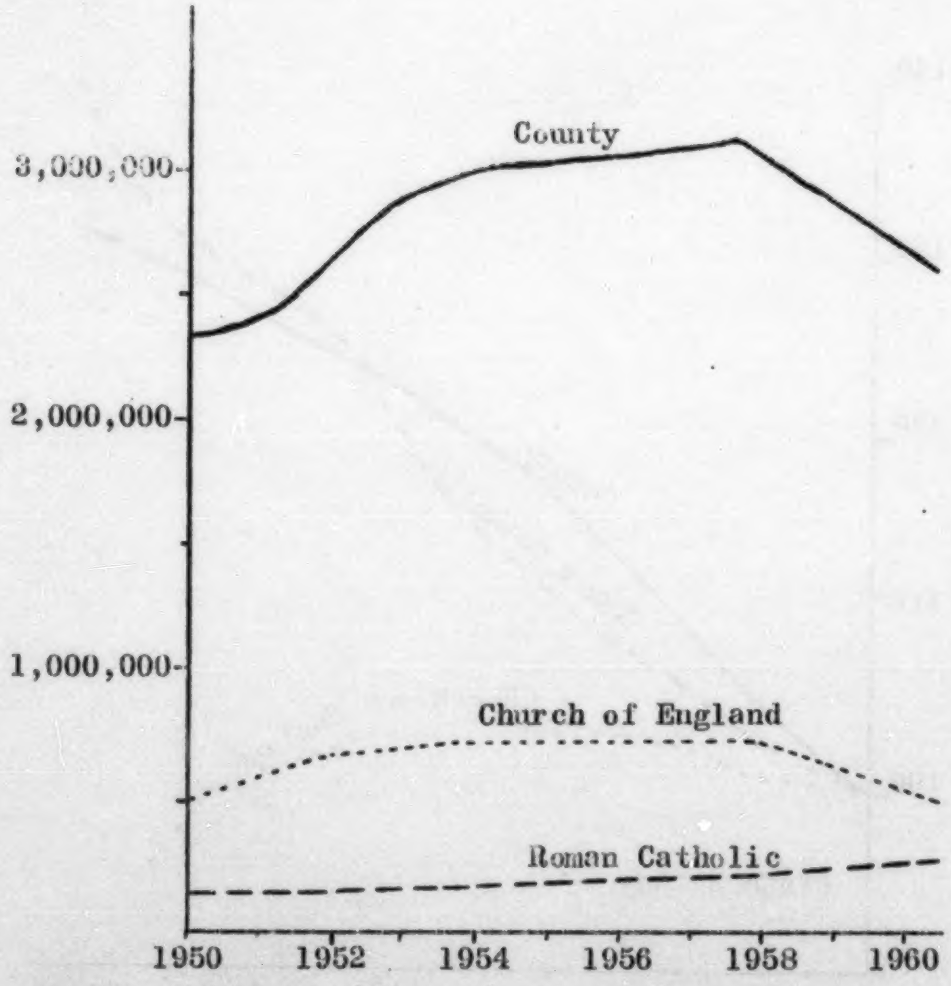

Figure 1. The Number of Primary School Pupils Attending County, Church of England, and Roman Catholic Maintained Schools, 1950-1960*

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*Tudor David, p. 5.

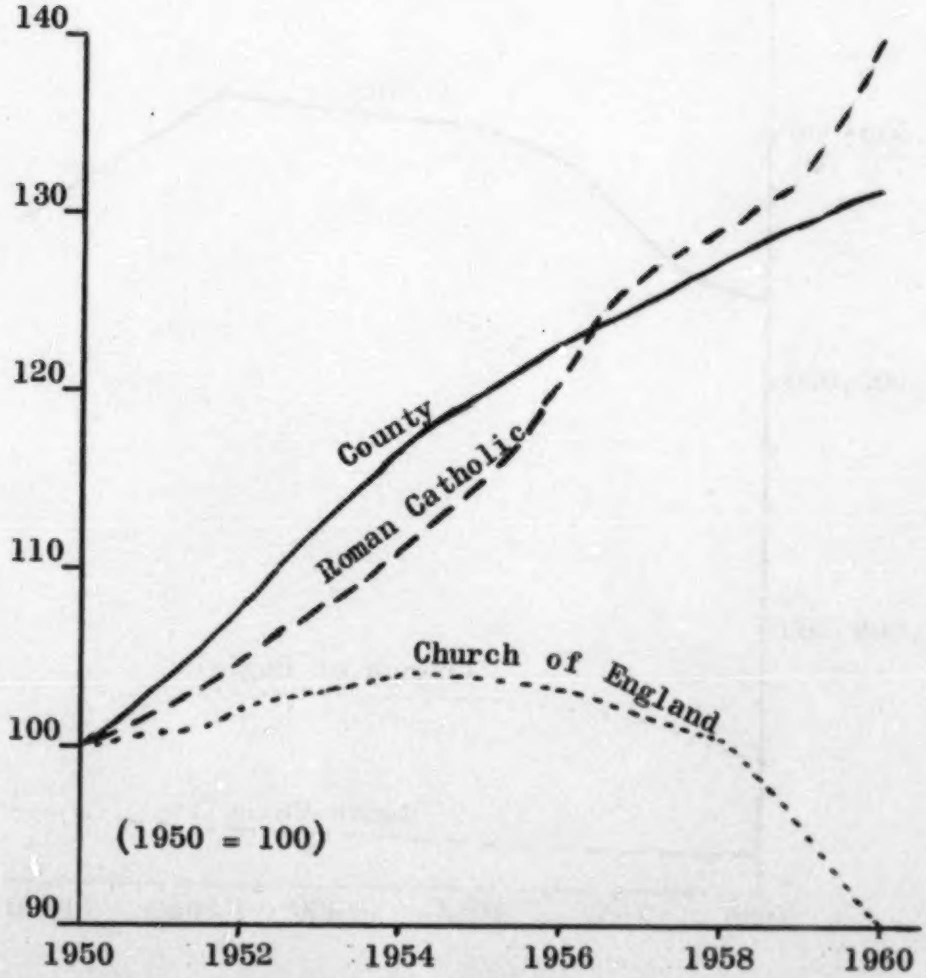

Figure 2. Percentage Change in Number of Pupils Attending County, Church of England, and Roman Catholic Schools, 1950-1960*

are expected to account for 63 per cent of the total estimated increase in the school population of school age, and by 1974 (will account) for one-sixth of all children of compulsory school age." Archbishop Beck's view is that "If the forecast was reasonably accurate the Government should allocate the bulk of future expenditure in education to providing new schools for Catholics."[79]

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*Tudor David, p. 15.

The theological view behind this position, quoted from a recent Anglican source, holds that:

> The Bible asserts that God is the Lord of the world and that man, denying that sovereignty, is in a state of sin. It goes on to proclaim that God has acted for the salvation of man so that he may achieve his true purpose. Much modern thought would deny these truths, asserting that man is only in need of enlightenment and not of redemption. The world belongs to man, it is said, and by a process of emancipation from superstitution, he is progressing to lordship over the world. Original sin is denied and a proper environment is held to be all that is necessary for the solution of social problems. Some modern psychological theories are based on these assumptions and to use the Bible selectively to support or illustrate them subjecting it to their demands or to those of a humanistic outlook is unjustifiable.[80]

This position holds that "nothing short of an integrated Church School will do."[81] As a result, "Thirty new aided secondary modern schools are to be built, and the Church's building programme at 80 million pounds is now double that contemplated four years ago."[82] According to a report of a lecture in November, 1963, Dr. Kathleen Bliss, General Secretary of the Church of England Board of Education, the Church of England continues to maintain 27 colleges for teachers and since the war has pledged three million pounds to these colleges for capital development.[83]

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[79] See George Andrew Beck, "Progress Report," Catholic Education: A Handbook, 1962-63. The Catholic Council for England and Wales, pp. 13-22. Also, "Revised Estimates of Catholic Child Population, England and Wales, 1959-1974," pp. 46-47.

[80] David, pp. 16-17.

[81] David, pp. 16-17.

[82] David, p. 17.

Since "the motive force behind the Education Act of 1959 came largely from the Roman Catholics,"[84] it might be well to look more fully into the processes by which Roman Catholic interests were promoted in the negotiations of the 1959 Act. Mr. David says that the significance of this act for the Roman Catholics was the dispelling of the view that the subsidy provisions of 1944 were permanent. It also "opened the prospect that in due course further concessions to aided schools were more than likely to be enacted."[85] These successes were evidence of "a remarkable capacity for painstaking planning and relentless application in order to achieve their purpose."[86]

Without going into the history of the repression and restoration of Catholic schools[87] or the consideration of the place of Catholic schools in English policy of 1944,[88] we note the remarkably complete record compiled by Bishop Beck, presently Archbishop of Liverpool, of his leadership in preparing for the 1959 Act.

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[83] "'Church-State Landmark,'" The Teacher, November 8, 1963.

[84] Stuart Maclure, Introduction to Church and School by Tudor David, p. 3.

[85] David, p. 5.

[86] David, p. 7.

[87] A. C. F. Beales, Education Under Penalty (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

[88] H. O. Evenett, The Catholic Schools of England and Wales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944). Also, Philip Whittaker, "The Roman Catholics and the Education Act of 1944," Political Studies, IV (June, 1956), pp. 186-190.

A series of articles dealing with the costs of schools appeared in The Clergy Review, "house magazine" for Roman Catholic clergy, from 1955 to 1960.[89] These articles analyze the difficulties created by Ministry of Education directives settling limits to the building of schools due to financial problems. In the execution of policy the denominations must make their case to the L.E.A., which then submits a program to the Ministry, where it is almost invariably pruned as a whole (i.e., not by selecting parts; there is no suggestion of favoritism) in the light of the financial conditions reported from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Bishop Beck took strong exception to Ministry directives setting new stringencies which would mean that the Catholics would be unable to improve their existing, unfavorable position. Needs in new housing areas were not being met; Catholic claims of conscience were not being sufficiently regarded. Until 1952 only 3 percent of capital for school buildings was allocated to Catholics whereas 7 percent of the school population was Catholic. Later, and perhaps as a result of Bishop Beck's presentations to the Ministry together with representations made at the diocesan level, Catholic proportions in the building programs rose sharply to 7 and then to 10 percent. The articles make the case for diocesan pressure on the L.E.A.s and, somewhat vaguely, for pressure applied to parliamentary candidates to see where they stand on the aid question.

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[89] George Andrew Beck, "The Cost of Schools," The Clergy Review, XL (January, 1955), pp. 1-22; Beck, "School Costs and School Plans," The Clergy Review, XLIII (January, 1958), pp. 1-11; Beck, "The Cost of Schools," The Clergy Review, XLIV (February, 1959), pp. 65-77; Beck, "Counting the Cost," The Clergy Review, XLV (March, 1960), pp. 129-144.

Other articles appeared in Catholic Education,[90] now replaced by the Catholic Education Handbook, published by the Catholic Education Council, of which Archbishop Beck is chairman. These articles, of which the 1959 is especially important for our purposes, contain detailed accounts of the negotiations in which Bishop Beck engaged. They include the memoranda exchanged with the Ministry and with the Anglican Bishops, the appraisals of Non-conformity opposition, and the meetings with Catholic and other legislators to make clear the case for greater support of Catholic schools. Associated with these efforts was the formation of a Catholic Action Committee "to provide and distribute information and propaganda in connection with our schools' campaign."[91] The conclusions of Bishop Beck's article credit the work of the Action Committee with being "the most important coordinating influence in the campaign."[92]

Bishop Beck makes it clear that Catholic policy aspires to full support of their schools by the State by quoting a statement of the Cardinal: "We would be happy if we could be given a flat rate of 75 per cent grant for our schools as a further installment towards that complete equality which is denied us."[93]

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[90] George Andrew Beck, "How the 1953 Education Act Took Shape," Catholic Education, 3 (December, 1957), pp. 1-31; Beck, "Background to the Education Act, 1959," Catholic Education, 7 (December, 1959), pp. 1-26.

[91] Beck, "Background to the Education Act, 1959," p. 4 n.

[92] Beck, p. 26.

[93] Beck, p. 5.

The Bishop reports, among other things, that he was asked in a meeting of the Labour Party Education Committee "specifically about the possibility of pressure being put on candidates in the course of the General Election."[94] His reply hoped for general agreement between the parties so that pressure, to which he was personally opposed, would not be needed. Yet if no assurance of a satisfactory outcome was given he was "not in a position to make any pledge that the Catholic body would not use all legitimate means to ensure that their point of view was understood and considered and accepted."[95]

The Bishop further records that in his conversations with Mr. Butler:

> I told him that an increase in the amount of grant merely for reorganization would not be sufficient for our needs. It was imperative to have some assistance for the building of new schools and if we got grant for new schools the question of voluntary schools' finance would be out of politics for twenty years. If it was refused, we should find ourselves obliged to come back again with further requests within five or six years . . . .
>
> I pointed out that the problem was one of increasing urgency for the Catholic body. Already in one or two dioceses projects had been withdrawn from current programmes or had been delayed. If this were to happen generally, we would be creating a situation in which parental discontent and administrative opposition would provoke blame on the Government. In new housing areas, particularly, it was for us a question of now or never.[96]

In later interviews with the Labour Party leadership the Bishop reports that "the meeting resolved itself into an attempt by all his colleagues to persuade" one of the members (a member whom Mr. David identifies as "a lifelong and influential Welsh non-conformist")[97] that "it should be the policy of the Party to support our proposals for a 75 per cent grant." If accepted, "the denominational schools' problem would be taken out of politics for the foreseeable future." One of the members:

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[94] Beck, p. 10.

[95] Beck, p. 11.

[96] Beck, p. 11.

> . . . speaking strongly as a Catholic, emphasized that we had up to now proceeded by discussion and persuasion, but that the Catholic community was no longer prepared to be fobbed off with partial concessions. If we did not get what we required the politicians could expect Catholics "to come up fighting" on this matter at the next general election.[98]

One is impressed in the entire account with the adroit appraisals of the extent to which power could be used in the achievement of Roman Catholic ends without drawing the 1959 Act into the center of religious and political controversy. Bishop Beck says that "it was put to me quite strongly that, if we overplayed our hand, we might end by getting nothing,"[99] and he noted the opinion of the Baptist Times that the Bill was a "betrayal of the 1944 agreement; a betrayal of the rights and views of a considerable part of the electorate, and a betrayal of our Protestant inheritance in the face of an unwarranted clamour from a Roman Catholic minority."[100] However, two pilot studies had been made of Nonconformist opinion in two areas of the country and as a result it was thought "there was a general exaggeration of the Nonconformist opposition"[101] and "the Nonconformist conscience no longer has the strength to awaken opposition."[102] The Bill was taken as an agreed measure, since in the negotiations it had been agreed between the parties, which, of course, were alert to an approaching general election.

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[97] David, p. 8.

[98] Beck, p. 16.

[99] Beck, p. 20.

[100] Beck, p. 24.

Bishop Beck's account, which includes a number of interesting arguments such as the suggestion from The Manchester Guardian that even with the increased grants the denominational schools were in fact saving public expenditure,[103] ends with the observation of a certain impermanence in the 1959 arrangements since there is no provision in them for public money for new primary denominational schools.

THE AGREED SYLLABUSES

The publications of the Ministry of Education and its earlier counterpart, the Board of Education, indicate the growth of modern policy concerning the government's support of religious education. In 1927 the report of the Hadow Committee, "The Education of the Adolescent," contained five pages dealing with the administrative problems of the dual system, these problems being left to solution by local agreements. It contained one page dealing with Religious Knowledge which says that the committee has not ventured any detailed suggestions in a matter of such profound issues. It was wiser to rely on the heads of the schools who could consult the recently created Cambridgeshire and West Riding syllabuses.[104]

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[101] Beck, p. 12.

[102] Beck, p. 25.

[103] As Roman Catholic diocesan schools are granted "aided" status and their enrollments increase, the Local Authorities stand to gain by having more places at its disposal in the maintained schools.

A 1931 Report of a Consultative Committee on the Primary School[105] gave slight attention to the creation of some additional syllabuses and to the production of The Little Bible for teaching purposes. It anticipated an elementary basic syllabus for all schools.

We have already remarked that the Spens Report of 1938 marked a turning point in the development of English policy. In it the agreed syllabus approach was brought to the fore and the preparation of teachers specializing in Scripture was emphasized. Scripture was to take its place with the other subjects as a subject for inspection; however, whether it was desirable to subject it to examinations as in other subjects was left open. After the Spens Report other committee reports reflect somewhat uneven attention to problems refining the teaching of religion in the schools. The Norwood Report of 1941, for instance, continued the developments characteristic of the 1938 report. Of recent reports dealing with schools Crowther in 1959 and Newsom in 1963 are the most important. References to religion in the Crowther Report are comparatively few and perfunctory. A chapter on "Spiritual and Moral Development" in the Newsom Report sought to link sexual morality with religious belief and reaffirmed the value of corporate worship in the lives of the young.

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[104] Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927).

[105] Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), pp. 154-55.

The creation and use of agreed syllabuses for teaching religion in schools provided and maintained by the L.E.A.s was not in 1944 a new response to the problem of diverse religious interests. The Cambridgeshire Syllabus was first published in 1924, and the Preface to the West Riding Syllabus says that their committee provided a syllabus as early as 1904. A survey by the Institute of Christian Education reported that in 1940 practically all of the 317 L.E.A.s then existing had an agreed syllabus, more than 100 of them using the Cambridgeshire.[106] There was a background of experience in the preparation and use of the agreed syllabuses. "Denominational controversies were obviated, direction without governmental definition or prescription was given, the Churches and the teachers through their officially appointed representatives were brought into a sound cooperative relationship, and the syllabus to be followed in any Authority's area was determined by those in the area who were most concerned with the actual use of it."[107]

More than half of the L.E.A.s have adopted the syllabus of some other Authority, though some have added a section dealing with local Church history. The Cambridgeshire, Sunderland, Surrey, and West Riding Syllabuses, in this order, seem to be the most commonly adopted ones. As experience with the use of the syllabuses accumulated it was thought that more and more the local authorities would produce their own syllabuses. New ones had been appearing at the rate of two or three a year in the 1950s, according to the report of the Institute of Christian Education.[108] It is unclear as to how much piecemeal borrowing has been involved, but as one reviews a large number of syllabuses and studies more than a dozen in greater detail, it appears to have been very extensive.

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[106] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 23.

[107] Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 23.

The newer syllabuses, continuing presumably what has been found to be useful from the earlier ones, also reveal some changes. Speaking of those produced since 1940, the research committee appointed by the Institute for Christian Education to inquire into the character and effectiveness of this approach to religious education reported:

> . . . Increasing attention is paid in them to worship and the aim of the teaching is declared to be that children should understand and accept the Christian faith and follow the Christian way of life, while in more recent syllabuses the hope is expressed that school worship and religious instruction will, in the words of the Introduction to the Lindsey syllabus, "increasingly lead pupils to become and remain full members of a worshipping community outside the school."[109]

Some recent editions--Bristol in 1960, Cambridgeshire in 1962, and Surrey in 1963--show some consideration for a more attractive format, and all show that great care has been taken in the selection of helpful materials. One senses that as teachers are better prepared for the work, the syllabuses in their new revisions are making an effort to contribute to the new levels of competency.

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[108] Institute of Christian Education, p. 26.

[109] Institute of Christian Education, p. 27.

The syllabuses are designed to be "an inspiration and a guide to teachers rather than a set of regulations about subject-matter."[110] The Cambridgeshire Syllabus, representative of the others, says:

> ON THE USE OF THE SYLLABUS
>
> The compilers wish to make plain that the object of the syllabus is to serve as a guide and not as a hard and fast scheme of actual lessons. The passages and notes grouped under each course are primarily intended for the use of the teacher who, it is hoped, will study the Syllabus as a whole, and, in using any section of it, freely adapt the material or add to it in accordance with his own ideas and the needs of his pupils. A school should not feel bound to adhere strictly to the age groups suggested for the courses; but, if alteration is made, care would naturally be taken to secure continuity.[111]

Teachers are advised to distinguish between an agreed syllabus as their guiding resource and a scheme of work suited to the particular context in which they work. The teacher should use the syllabus as he looks before and after a particular period of teaching to see how it fits in a total perspective of Christian upbringing.

Although more recent syllabuses tend to depart in various ways from a common pattern, the largest part of a syllabus consists of a plan for the content of instruction at different levels—nursery, infant, junior, secondary and sixth form (junior college) levels. Care is taken for the continuity of the student's growth. Topics are provided with Biblical and other references. Stories of the Bible, Christian holy days, doctrines and their appropriate explanations are placed in a plan for developing understanding and appreciation of Christian belief. In many syllabuses this material is introduced after the teacher's attention has been drawn to the relevant sections of the 1944 Act and other statutory provisions. Other pages provide articles dealing with the aim or aims of the syllabus, the significance of Christian education today, the nature of worship, the modern approach to the Bible, and the like. A section relating local church history to the fuller sweep of church history is usually provided. A bibliography for teachers and a section on suggested teaching aids are included. In more recent editions more attention is given to the advanced students comprising the Sixth Form. Considerations about language, myth, art, the ranges of Christian and other religions may be introduced. The reader cannot fail to be impressed with the quality of the work and the care that has been taken with pedagogical considerations in the more modern syllabuses.

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[110] Institute of Christian Education, Agreed Syllabuses and Their Revision, p. 13.

[111] The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 16.

It is clear, moreover, that the agreed syllabuses place Christian belief and doctrine central in their effort. Knowledge of other religions is postponed until the learner can go more surely in Christian paths and to the sources of Christian belief. Furthermore, the syllabus cannot be said to be "teaching about religion" in the sense in which this term is generally used in the United States. The aim is to lay the ground for conviction and commitment rather than to provide for objective knowledge about man's religious life and experience. With growth in confidence that the teacher can teach undenominational (protestant) Christianity without being involved in denominational controversy, the syllabuses have become more sophisticated educational tools for the achievement of this end.

Some of the less obvious differences between some of the syllabuses are discussed in various publications of the Institute for Christian Education of which a report of its research committee is typical. It identifies four main emphases which may be found in various degrees in different syllabuses all of which take a Biblical approach to undenominational Christian teaching. Some syllabuses—Cambridgeshire, 1939 and Sunderland, 1944—take a psychological approach, i.e., select and arrange material by noting the interests and attitudes of children as they develop. Others—Surrey, 1947 and Lancashire, 1948—group and organize material in Biblical order. Still others—London County Council, 1947 and Middlesex, 1948—select and arrange material to provide a systematic treatment of Biblical doctrine. A fourth group—Chesire, 1949; Carlisle, Cumberland, and Westmorland of 1951; and Lindsey, 1951—are said to be syntheses of psychological and Biblical tendencies. In addition, more recent syllabuses are said to contain improvements of a practical order in that they (1) are briefer, (2) use a "concentric" pattern providing for greater depth in renewed study of recurrent themes, and (3) provide alternative courses for different types of students. These considerations point to the plurality of syllabus approaches—"the all purpose syllabus will not do"[112]—and yet provide the teacher with the means for seeing how his teaching contribution fits into an over-all plan.

It is important to the purposes of this study to notice that the syllabus approach is not a single and uniform approach to Christian education. It is characterized by diversity contributed by local control of the design of instruction, and this diversity is itself being studied on the basis of the improvement of pedagogical considerations. Differences are not denominational but educational. English pluralism within the context of agreed syllabus instruction is of a different order from sectarian pluralism. The English maintain that they have distinguished between distinctive denominational tenets and Biblical doctrine which is central in agreed syllabuses. In English policy, diversity in the means by which common Christian doctrine is transmitted is not divisive.

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[112] Institute for Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, p. 49.

In coming to grips with the English policy of teaching undenominational Christianity in county schools one must make some distinctions not all of which are common in American discussions of American policy. Central among these is the distinction between doctrines which are common to Christian denominations and doctrines which are unique to denominations. To understand English policy we must be clear not only about the meaning of this key distinction but also about the justifications provided by means of this distinction for English policy.

That which is denominational in England refers to differences between "the church and the chapel", that is, between the Church of England and the mainline Free Churches, namely, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Other denominations, for example, Quakers and Unitarians, are not in the main stream, in one sense or another, of British religious tradition. Further, not all sects are denominations. Hence, "undenominational Christianity" refers to what is held in common by Anglicans and Free Churchmen. Obviously Roman

Catholic and Jewish beliefs fall outside the patterns of the church and the chapel. It should be clear that we are here speaking of the basis for distinctions about doctrine; we are not referring to the participation of members of various churches in religious education programs, committees and the like. It is repeatedly pointed out to an observer that Quakers, Unitarians, and Jewish believers might teach Divinity, might serve on the standing advisory councils and the like; however, scientific humanists would not find this approach to religious education acceptable to their convictions. It was also recognized, frequently rather regretfully, that Roman Catholics do not find themselves able to join the agreed syllabus approach.

One of the key ingredients of the distinction between common and denominational doctrine consists of the interpretation of the Cowper-Temple Clause. It will be recalled that this states that "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." As Margaret Avery, one of the leading interpreters of the agreed syllabus perspective, points out, this clause is given a positive rather than a negative interpretation.

> . . . Soon after the passing of the Education Act of 1870, the teaching of the Apostles' Creed and of the Christian beliefs common to the Churches, was declared in the House of Commons to be legitimate in state schools, and this has remained so ever since. Teachers of scripture in state schools and colleges cannot force upon their pupils the distinctive point of view of their own denomination: but this need not mean that they shirk theology. There is much Christian doctrine upon which all the main denominations are agreed: the divine control of history, the revelation of God to all men and uniquely to the Jews, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Atonement, the work of the Holy Spirit, the function of the Church,

> personal and corporate religion, the life of the world to come.[113]

Within this approach, the Oxford Handbook puts it, "Doctrine is not a series of unintelligible propositions imposed by authority but the crystallization into language of religious experience."[114] Again, as Miss Avery continues, "Christian dogmas are not insults to reason imposed upon Christians by ecclesiastical authority" but accumulations through a "crucible of thought in every generation."[115] These doctrines are derived not from a truncated religion of the Bible, but from the whole religion of the Bible and this includes "not the Bible *in vacuo*, but the Bible as interpreted by nineteen hundred years of Christianity."[116]

This means that agreed syllabus teaching of religion is not, in B. A. Yeaxlee's phrase, "an eviscerated, devitalised residuum of the real thing."[117] It is not to be simple, non-doctrinal teaching about the Bible. It is not merely teaching what the Bible says; it is teaching which interprets it as true belief. The agreed syllabuses and other materials developing this approach to religious teaching repeatedly emphasize the centrality of undenominational doctrine. ". . . The Bible is full of doctrine. . . . It is therefore impossible to teach the Bible without teaching doctrine. . . . Christian doctrine is everywhere implicit in the Agreed Syllabus."[118]

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[113] Margaret Avery, *Teaching Scripture* (Wallington, Surrey: The Religious Education Press, Ltd, 1960), p. 94.

[114] City of Oxford, *Handbook on Religious Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 7.

[115] Avery, p. 95.

[116] Avery, p. 95.

[117] Free Church Federal Council, *Church, Child and School* (Saffron Walden, Essex: W. Hart & Son Ltd, 1960), p. 35.

A recent statement by the Central Joint Education Policy Committee of the Church of England Board of Education, the Church in Wales Council for Education, and the Free Church Federal Council (1963) outlines "The Assertions of the Christian Faith". The statement is worth extended quotation since, as its preface says, this committee was formed "as the result of suggestions made by the then Minister of Education and exists to help to implement, without recourse to public enquiry and controversy, those sections of the Education Act concerned with denominational schools and religious instruction in County Schools." In the last paragraph of several pages of introductory explanation about the common basis of Christian teaching we read: "The teacher of the Christian faith must therefore recognize that he is not merely teaching about a particular revelation in history, but sharing in a continuing and dynamic revelation, whereby the whole of man, spirit, mind and body and all his activities, desires and expanding knowledge, may be drawn into vital relationship with God. . . ." The Christian faith then asserts:

1. Concerning God

A. God the Father: that he is the Father of all: He is the Almighty Creator of all things and of all men: His character is righteous, merciful and loving.

(i) This assertion rests primarily on the revelation contained in the Bible culminating in the life and work of Jesus Christ.

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[118] City of Oxford, pp. 7-9.

(ii) It arises also from our understanding of the natural world, of the conscience of man (natural) law and of history, interpreted in the light of that revelation.

(iii) God, who is active through His Spirit in Creation, is also creatively active in all man's search for truth, beauty and goodness.

B. God the Son: that Jesus Christ is the Son of God:

(i) That He lived in Palestine in the 1st century.

(ii) That in Him God truly and fully became man and lived the perfect human life.

(iii) That He died on the Cross, which is the point at which perfect love encountered evil and sin.

(iv) That in His total committal of Himself to His Father in His life and especially in His death, God delivered man from ignorance, sin and death. This victory was declared in the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, by which the power of His risen and glorified life was made available to man.

C. God the Holy Spirit: that He is God active in:

(i) The bringing of men to repentance, faith and goodness.

(ii) The creation of the fellowship which is the Church, and in sustaining and empowering it.

(iii) The understanding and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

(iv) The illumination of human minds and consciences with the knowledge of God's will.

D. The Holy Trinity: the Christian belief in God who is Three in one springs from the experience of the first Christians. They found themselves worshipping the divine Christ and illuminated by the divine Spirit while remaining worshippers of the one God. The doctrine of God, Three in One, proclaims the perfection of the divine Love.

2. Concerning Man and His Life

That:

(i) Man is made 'in the image of God', i.e., having a capacity for creativity, love, community, self-direction.

(ii) That image has been spoiled by man's wrong choices and has remained undeveloped because of man's persistent disobedience. The weight of this disobedience is a legacy handed down from generation to generation.

(iii) Individually and collectively, man is capable of being re-created in God's image, by the power of the Holy Spirit.

(iv) This can only be as he recognizes his own limitations and failings and turns to God through Christ in repentance, trust and obedience.

(v) The consequent new life—the 'eternal life' of the New Testament—is a dynamic relationship with God through Christ into which the believer enters here and now, and is more than mere survival after death.

(vi) For the person thus 'alive to God' the death of the body is not the end of life but the entry into a fuller life of fellowship with God in Christ.

(vii) In rejecting God's offer of eternal life, man brings judgment upon himself.

3. Concerning the Christian Life

That it is a life of love for God and for one's neighbour, exemplified in:

(i) Personal response to the love of God in Christ.

(ii) Obedience to the known will of God.

(iii) Growing awareness of God, nurtured by every truly educative process and by worship and membership in the Church, family life, private devotion and practical service.

(iv) Involvement in the workaday world, into which the Christian brings Christian insights and incentives.

4. Concerning the Church

That it is the 'household of faith', the community of those who are united to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. That:

(i) Though broken and divided, it is still the channel through which the Spirit of God primarily works for the salvation of the world through:

(a) Worship;

(b) Preaching and Teaching;

(c) The Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion;

(d) Witness and Social Service;

(ii) Though the divisions in the Church are deep and admit of no simple solution, the area of agreement is much wider than that of disagreement; and there is a growing together of the Church in love through the work of the Holy Spirit in the Ecumenical Movement and in other ways.

5. Concerning the Kingdom of God

The Kingdom:

(i) is revealed and present in the life of Jesus Christ;

(ii) is realized in the lives of all who know and serve Him;

(iii) is not ultimately dependent on man's responses, but on God's will and power. It has always existed and will one day be fully established by God to reflect the glory of Him who is the Sovereign Lord of all.[119]

As the general tone and language of this pronouncement indicate, this recent statement of the Christian character of English policy reveals the educational consequences of the ecumenical movement in English church life. It might also be noted that the Sheffield Institute study indicated that "The emergence of a World Council of Churches, a British Council of Churches, and many local councils of churches was the essential background to the idea of an Agreed Syllabus."[120] Today not only is the Methodist pastor occupying the Church of England pulpit, but the schools are teaching an ecumenical protestantism.

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[119] Central Joint Education Policy Committee, Christian Teaching in Schools: A Common Basis (Cowley, Oxford: Church Army Press, 1963), pp. 5-7.

[120] Hugh M. Pollard et al., Religious Education in Secondary Schools (London: Nelson, 1961), p. 1.

However, as a 1960 publication of the Free Church Federal Council points out, "the school is not the church" although some "Churchly activities go on in it."[121] Although within the state system proselytizing for a particular denominational faith is ruled out, teaching that Church membership is necessary to Christian life is not excluded.[122] Not only is the role of the school opposed to secularism, but "unattached Christianity" or "floating about between the denominations, settling and belonging nowhere", as Miss Avery puts it,[123] is undesirable. "It is a better education to be deeply rooted in one tradition than to have light attachments to several. It is sheer folly to talk about letting children of nine or ten choose their religious allegiance: they do not know what they are choosing nor ought they to have the responsibility of choice."[124] Presumably, the sense of the word 'nor' in this sentence is not identical with 'and hence they ought not'. That is, on grounds other than their inability to know that between which they are choosing, learners should not be deciding these matters for themselves. The point is that English policy affirms that according to a celebrated phrase, the school should "increasingly lead pupils to become and remain full members of a worshipping community outside the school". This means according to the Free Church Federal Council, that:

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[121] Free Church Federal Council, Church, Child and School (Saffron Walden, Essex: W. Hart & Son Ltd, 1960), p. 25.

[122] Church, Child and School, p. 26.

[123] Avery, p. 26.

[124] Avery, p. 26.

> . . . It will not always be appropriate for the day school teacher to teach with a view to the personal acceptance or rejection of the subject matter by his charges. His working aim will tend to be that his pupils should know the facts rather than face the facts; and this is so even though, during particular lessons, especially with older children, the line between those two will be difficult to draw. While the good church-based teacher will not turn his sessions into minor evangelistic rallies, his working aim, especially with adolescents, will be that his charges should face the facts as well as know them.[125]

In short, the kind of cooperation between school and church here spoken of seeks enduring commitment to membership in a main line church. ". . . What really matters is that children should be encouraged to enter the fellowship of the Christian Church and in the sacraments experience the climax of its worship. Against this there is no law."[126] The freedom of disbelief does not stand on the same educational footing as the freedom to believe within the main lines of British religious tradition.

British policy also opens the door to questions about whether the various subjects of the curriculum--English, mathematics, science, history, civics--should be interpreted by the Christian faith. The 1960 report of the Joint Research Committee found that "Christian education is in the muddle" which "prevents Christianity becoming the key to the diversity of human activity and (the student's) personal destiny."[127]

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[125] Free Church Federal Council, Church, Child and School, p. 36.

[126] City of Oxford, p. 29.

[127] Free Church Federal Council, Church, Child and School, p. 7.

It is urged that Christian education in all of its component parts should be Christian. "History taught by a Christian should be a different experience from history taught by a secularist, a Christian biologist will give a different impression . . . about the significance of biological findings than will a non-Christian."[128] The "way of life" of the school in all of its parts should be "Christ-centered."

This emphasis is given more detailed treatment in a 1960 report of the Institute of Christian Education. In it W. R. Niblett, Dean of the Institute of Education of London University, recognizes that practicing Christians are probably a minority on a school faculty; yet agreement is expressed with T. S. Eliot that the school should be Christian though its personnel be mixed and that this may benefit its intellectual vitality. However, Christian presuppositions, as they differ from secularistic ones, should dominate. The teacher who is a committed Christian should let a hierarchy of values shine through his work as a presupposition of all that he does. "Though there is scarcely a 'Christian' mathematics or a 'Christian' science, the Christian teacher will often find himself placing a different weighting and—almost without knowing that he does so--giving a different weighting to some parts of the subject than will an agnostic."[129] Hence, the teacher of mathematics will show that there are different kinds of proofs and that one appropriate to mathematics is not appropriate to the study of the Bible or to spiritual experiences of a private or a mystic order. ". . . The teaching of science must cultivate a sense of the continuity of nature on a non-materialistic basis. A persistent creative trend such as the development of the world manifests cannot be accounted for in terms of mere accident."[130]

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[128] Church, Child and School, p. 31.

[129] W. R. Niblett, Christian Education in a Secular Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 40-41.

The ingredients of a particular philosophy of history are central in the Christian's teaching of history.

> . . . The Christian's conviction about the true nature of history does impinge very closely on his historical method at one point: it radically affects his view of human nature, which is the real criterion by which he makes historical judgments. He believes that everywhere in history Man is confronted by God and that ultimately history consists of Man's choice or rejection of God. However much the historical situation he analyzes is built up of given circumstances, factors of heredity, environment, contingent event, however much, that is, choice is circumscribed by a real historic situation which it is his work to delineate, there remains for the Christian at the core of every such situation a real, unpredictable, in some sense unmeasurable, choice. The duty of the Christian historian lies in acknowledging this reality. He must make clear in his teaching his conviction that there is this element of spiritual choice embodied in all history, whether officially classified as secular or as ecclesiastical. . . .[131]

This view, the author continues, is not a conclusion proved by the methods of historical study. It is "a conviction about the 'stuff' of history which is brought to it", and is hence open to challenge. It must be recognized as one of several possible ways of interpreting history. Although it is not to be passed on in an authoritarian manner, it is a conviction which will be manifest by the way a Christian teacher interprets history.

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[130] Niblett, pp. 43-44.

[131] Niblett, pp. 70-71.

In this view, Christian education is not only, perhaps not even chiefly, a matter of teaching religious knowledge or the text of the Bible. It is putting the study of any subject within the framework of Christian commitment. Although the truth should be followed wherever it leads, and although young people in school should have increasing opportunities to make their own decisions, the effort of the school in all of its parts should be to make evident the case for Christian presuppositions.

Since under British policy religious education is a subject of study comparable in its academic quality with other subjects, the problems of obtaining instructors adequately prepared for this work has come to the fore. Not only do teachers of the various common subjects need a certain kind of preparation if these subjects are to be taught with a view to their Christian presuppositions, but the teaching of "Divinity", if it is to be accorded academic respectability, requires appropriate specialization. While in infant and junior schools teachers may conduct the school on a Christian basis with rather minimal preparation in the study of Scripture, in grammar schools and increasingly in secondary modern schools and comprehensive schools specialists are needed.

Students in the higher forms of these schools may be studying for the General Certificate of Education examinations in Scripture at the Ordinary and the Advanced levels and success in the G.C.E.s is the traditional ticket to the university. The recently issued Robbins Report on higher education reports that two passes at the Advanced level of G.C.E. are the minimum qualification for entry to universities and that over 80 percent of the students have at least three.[132] Furthermore, entry to Teacher Training Colleges is now at the point where 60 percent of those who enter have at least one pass at Advanced level and over a third have two passes or more. In short, as religious education takes its place as an equivalent with other subjects, and this in no small measure by being included in the examination system, there is a need for specialists in the preparatory secondary schools.

"Specialists" in religious education are, generally speaking, clergy or those who have been educated in whole or in part as clergy, or those who have degrees, diplomas, or certificates in theology. Religious education is also taught by semi-specialists, that is, by teachers of other subjects who are willing to take a share in religious education and who have had some academic work preparing them to be resources in this aspect of the schools' program. The Department of Education and Science (formerly the Ministry of Education) provides short, in-service courses on religious education, and expenses associated with attending these courses are met by local authorities in the cases of teachers from maintained schools. The 1957 edition of the Report of the Research Committee of the Institute of Christian Education, Religious Education in Schools, provides interesting information and indicates some of the problems associated with the preparation of specialists in Divinity.

Although the present project refrains from the study of problems of higher education, it is appropriate to note that the education of specialists in religious education does not totally avoid the historic division between Oxbridge and Redbrick.[133] It is perhaps sufficient for our purposes to note that there are some rather fundamental differences in English opinion as to the theological aspects of religious education, and particularly as to the place of the study of theology in the university. Although generalizations are tenuous, it appears that the universities of Northern England are considerably less sympathetic to the study of theology than are the traditions of Southern England, particularly those of Oxford and Cambridge. The northern centers are the historic home grounds of Dissent and do not easily forget the religious prescriptions which endured in one form or another in the older universities. It was not until the Universities Tests Act of 1871 that teaching posts at Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, except certain theological professorships, were open irrespective of creed, and the Universities open to men students without a religious test.[134] Professor Smith in this book, which first appeared in 1942, remarked:

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[132] Committee on Higher Education, Higher Education Report (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), p. 17.

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> In the older Universities the cake of custom has shown a remarkable durability. It was only about three years ago that for the first time a non-Anglican was appointed to a Chair of Theology in their venerable precincts, while 1941 can find a place in ecclesiastical history as providing the first occasion upon which a Nonconformist preached the University sermon at Cambridge.[135]

Although there is no longer any appreciable voice of Dissent, the traditions established in its heyday have not totally disappeared. According to a recent study of Britain today, "The nonconformist conscience remains a powerful force."[136]

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[133] Sampson, pp. 195-218, especially in its chapter on the universities, provides an interesting and informative view of what he calls the rift which cuts right through his book.

[134] W. O. Lester Smith, To Whom Do Schools Belong? (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1945), pp. 132-133.

[135] Smith, p. 136.

PRACTICES IN THE SCHOOLS

In an effort to see the meaning of English policy for the concrete daily life of the state-controlled secondary school, a number of schools of various types in various parts of the country were visited. While no claim can be made that the schools visited are representative of all the varieties of English schools or that one has sampled them adequately in terms of the influences bearing upon them, a range of practice in English schools can be exemplified. Brief descriptions of what was observed in several of these schools is sufficient to reveal the varified and uneven quality of religious education under the agreed syllabuses.

In some grammar schools, where instructors were specialists, a stimulating exploration of the meaning of Biblical passages was going on. For example, one class was discussing whether the creation of Adam and Eve was to be understood as an act of divine creation of a particular man and woman or whether it was a Hebrew interpretation of a continuing creative process involving the nature of mankind. The discussion was spirited and was skillfully related by the teacher to the lives of thirteen and fourteen year old grammar school (i.e., selected) boys.

In a grammar school for girls at the same age level, on the other hand, the teacher was concentrating on the facts of Bible study by asking questions, approving correct answers and correcting errors in response.

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[136] Sampson, p. 170.

Notes recorded immediately after the school visitation show that ten of the thirty girls did not participate, did not have Bibles; four girls read consecutively various verses without any comment of any kind by the teacher; minimal interpretation was given when a question meriting discussion was raised by one of the students. One had the totally unconfirmed impression that this teacher was influenced by her views of what an Inspector should see.

In a secondary modern school (i.e., a school enrolling those who have not been creamed off in the selection test at eleven years of age) situated in an extremely rapidly growing suburb of a metropolitan area, no specialists in religious education were on the staff of a school serving more than 900 students. The head of the school remarked that the school conformed with the 1944 Act in a minimal way and that the school could not do otherwise for lack of plant facilities and trained teachers. However, a few minutes later it was remarked that when he had an opportunity to expand the staff, he selected a science teacher and let the staff pick up the classes in religious education. A religious education class consisting of the oldest age group in the school was taught by a chemistry teacher. He presented, somewhat unclearly, what amounted to a distinction between four kinds of evidence and their roles in the substantiation of truth claims. One of these was "by authority" and was exemplified by Roman Catholic belief. By asking for a show of hands, one boy was shown to be of this persuasion. Methodists were said to establish truth differently, but no one volunteered to look into it. The only clear response from the group was to the effect that in this class students could really talk about religion but that in church you couldn't talk back. It was clear that the teacher had not been forewarned in any way of the observer's presence and was trying to have an open discussion which simply did not materialize. To round out the picture in this school it was claimed that, since the assembly hall accommodated less than half of the total school population, on the day of the visitation religious worship was being held in homerooms, but on other days it was said to be held in shifts in the hall.

In another grammar school, crowded into an old and inadequate building, the headmaster held worship in the school yard. More formal ceremonies, such as the school leaving exercises, were held in the parish church. The headmaster, as is common in English schools, taught several classes, one in mathematics and the other Sixth Form (most advanced) Religious Education. For this he used a succinctly worded syllabus of his own devising, the county's agreed syllabus being held in the background. The particular course being offered involved independently written papers on Hebrew history and the Gospels, class time being largely taken up with problems in the philosophy of religion. Other courses studied comparative religions, religion and social conditions, the historical growth of the Christian Church. An appreciable number of boys from this school take the General Certificate of Education examinations at both Ordinary and Advanced levels. The quality of the work of the school as a whole is indicated by the fact that forty-two students of the 1963 graduates had achieved places in universities, six of them in Oxford and Cambridge. The school enrolled a total of 830 boys. In addition to the considerable leadership of the headmaster in the study of religion, the school had on its faculty two specialists;

one, an Anglican cleric; the other, an Oxford graduate who had specialized in the philosophy of religion.

The general impression resulting from visitations to eight county secondary schools and conversations with masters and headmasters in these and in others is that the quality of religious education under the agreed syllabus approach is what the local education authority and particularly the headmaster make it. The policy allows for great latitude in the character and quality of the programs. There are large differences in both the ceremonial and the intellectual aspects of the work, as well as in the general climate of the school. In some schools much attention is given to the quality of prayers that are created by students. Some schools make much use of excursions to the minster (cathedral), the church, the chapel, libraries, and museums. At its best, religious education in county schools is, from the point of view of educational principles, very good indeed. Some of it leaves much to be desired.

The influence of Inspectors of Religious Education, whether those of the county authorities or of the Ministry, appears to have contributed substantially to the quality of agreed syllabus teaching and religious education in general. For example, largely through the efforts of a Chief Inspector and Consultant for Religious Education, an experienced teacher was appointed to work in an experimental program of religious discussion in London County Council Schools. The effort was to make Christianity meaningful in the context of common faith, to make it relevant to young people's lives today, and to work at this under educational, as distinct from clerical, leadership. The efforts of the Inspectorate were to work with all groups to extend the base of Christianity and to feed back the results of conferences to the programs of religious instruction in schools. One was repeatedly assured that this kind of activity has replaced any tendency to get excited about differences in the interpretation of the essential truth. In short, although the traditional position of the inspector, is to serve as the eyes and the ears of an educational authority, some L.E.A.s are now appointing consultants and curriculum experts to work more closely with the schools in improving the quality of religious education. The inspector is now more commonly described as consultant, source of reference, carrier of ideas.

English policy as laid down by statutory provisions and developed through the efforts of the Ministry and the Local Educational Authorities provides a variety of means for the improvement of the agreed syllabus approach to religious education. In addition to provision for specialists and for curriculum experts there is provision for continuously bringing together representatives of the local authority, teachers, and churches. The 1944 Act not only directed that the agreed syllabuses should be built, but it provided that standing advisory councils be constituted to advise the Authorities on "matters connected with religious instruction to be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus."[137] The policy thus provides a permanent place for constructive cooperation and mutual understanding as difficulties and possibilities are worked out. The 1957 Report of the Research Committee of the Institute of

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[137] Section 29, Education Act, 1944.

Christian Education devotes a number of pages to the achievements and possibilities of these advisory bodies.

We have earlier quoted extensively from the work of the Central Joint Education Policy Committee of the Church of England Board of Education, the Church in Wales Council for Education, and the Free Church Federal Council. This Committee is another agency for cooperation, in this instance between the churches, suggested by the Ministry of Education. The advisory councils and this inter-church policy committee represent different levels of semi-official consultative bodies contributing to the improvement of religious education.

The Institute of Christian Education at Home and Overseas (I.C.E.) has since 1935 been a highly influential voluntary agency for collecting and distributing information, sponsoring conferences, and conducting studies in the interdenominational teaching of Christianity. It keeps in close touch with the Department of Education and Science and with Local Education Authorities. Its journal, Learning for Living, formerly Religion in Education, provides a valuable survey of British policy and practice. Three of the recent publications of the I.C.E.--Religious Education in Schools, Christian Education in a Secular Society by W. R. Niblett, and Teenage Religion by Harold Loukes--have been used extensively in the present study and have contributed substantially to current interpretations of English policy.

A number of other agencies--some connected with the churches such as the Student Christian Movement in Schools, the Education Department of the British Council of Churches, the National Society, the Church of England Council for Education, and the Catholic Education Council; others representative of teachers such as the National Union of Teachers, the Graduate Teachers' Association, and the National Association of Schoolmasters—provide other dimensions of cooperation and mutual understanding in British religious education.

It is a significant point for the purposes of this study that the English have developed many organized channels for exchange of views and participation in the development of national policy. As Sir Ernest Barker has pointed out, "It is an old tradition of Englishmen to do things for themselves, on a voluntary basis, in free association with others; not to expect all things from 'the State', or remit all things to the government. It has shown itself in many fields--education . . ."[138] and many others. The British have not merely achieved a compromise that overcomes much of the religious divisiveness of the past, but they have provided in many ways a forum for the discussion of policy and the refinement, or perhaps in the future the fundamental revision, of the patterns by which the religious question is managed in the schools.

An important additional agency for the realization of national policy in England is the British Broadcasting Corporation. It provides through the School Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom four series of broadcasts on religion for the schools. One of these series consists of broadcasts called "A Religious Service for Primary Schools." A recent survey[139] indicates that it reaches about 50 percent of Junior and Infant Schools and 57 percent of Junior Schools.

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[138] Sir Ernest Barker, "An Attempt at Perspective," The Character of England, edited by Sir Ernest Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 567.

[139] Reported from a letter from the Assistant to the Senior Education Officer.

Three additional series are designed for the use of secondary schools. One, "An Act of Worship for Secondary Schools," is designed "to unite the schools taking part in an act of worship designed to lead children to offer praise and thanksgiving and to pray for themselves and for others." In January 1965 it was reported that some 40 percent of the potential audience used this series. Another series, "The Bible and Life," seeks "to provide a supplement to religious instruction for children in their last two years at school, taking account of the general scope and content of Agreed Syllabuses for these children." Some 17 percent of the potential audience of Grammar Schools currently use this series. A third series entitled "The Christian Religion and Its Philosophy" is designed for Sixth Form students. About 34 percent of the potential Grammar School audiences use this series.[140] "A background of settled belief is not assumed in the audience, and the active skepticism, indifference, and bewilderment of some Sixth Form pupils is recognized." The statement of its aims and policy further recognizes "the need to offer sharp challenges to Sixth Formers, and to avoid creating any impression that the premises of the Christian faith can be readily assumed or counter-arguments easily demolished. . . ."

The booklet for these Sixth Form broadbasts for 1962-63 bears the sub-title, "Reason and Imagination as Means of Knowing," which is the theme of the broadcasts for the Autumn Term. The cover of the pamphlet pictures The Hunt of the Unicorn from a medieval tapestry in which reason, represented in the spears of the huntsmen, and imaginative power, represented by the unicorn, are locked in a struggle of power. The theme depicted in the tapestry is used to introduce a consideration of: the uses and limits of reason, the nature of imagination and myth, and the bearings of these on the understanding and appreciation of Christianity. A variety of volumes such as K. C. Barnes, The Creative Imagination and A. Koestler, The Sleepwalkers; selected paintings such as El Greco, Laocoon and His Sons and Gauguin's Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?; and selections from the fields of poetry and music are introduced. Questions for discussion include:

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[140] A recent BBC survey reports that some 78 percent of secondary modern schools in England, Wales, and North Ireland use school radio broadcasts and some 58 percent of secondary grammar schools.

> 3. Kenneth Barnes wrote of Ethiopian Church ceremonies that they were the most colourful in the world, but had nothing to do with daily life. How far is this true of our own Christian ritual and liturgy?
>
> 9. Discuss these well-known lines from Shaw's St. Joan:
> Joan: I hear voices telling me what to do. They come from God.
> Robert: They come from your imagination.
> Joan: Of course. That is how the messages of God come to us.[141]

Topics for broadcasts in other school terms include: The Ethics of Power, The Book of Daniel. The materials drawn together for these topics appear to be equally challenging.

The BBC is thus another agency for the control and direction of public policy about religion in the schools. In organization, it is a public corporation, its members appointed by the crown, yet it acts in the national interest independent of the State. It is different on the one hand from the purely State broadcasting systems of some European countries and, on the other hand, from the private broadcasting companies of the United States. We shall notice organizations of a comparable kind, yet based on somewhat different conceptions, in our reports on The Netherlands and on Sweden. The point is that we find in the European countries studied in this project, a range of public organizations serving the development and implementation of national educational policy.

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[141] Margaret E. Rose and Robert C. Walton (ed.), The Christian Religion and Its Philosophy (London: British Broadcasting Company, 1962), p. 23.

CRITICISMS OF ENGLISH POLICY: OPINIONS AND STUDIES

The national effort to provide a Christian framework and basis for education has led to extensive materials of many kinds criticizing and seeking to improve agreed syllabus teaching. Much of this material seeks to better this teaching by bringing to it on the one hand the products of Biblical scholarship and on the other hand principles of sound pedagogy. We shall here make no effort to survey the total range of these efforts. Rather we shall select from some of these materials those parts which bear most directly upon questions of social policy. That is, we shall not attempt to report the efforts of Biblical and theological scholarship and shall select for our purpose from the pedagogical efforts to improve the teaching of religion. We shall attempt to see in some of these efforts the problems and ingredients of problems involved in national educational policy.

Subsequently, we shall attend to criticisms which seek to change the direction of national policy rather than to improve and refine present policy.

In the years immediately following the 1944 Act criticism was sometimes heard, mostly from clergymen, that the agreed syllabus approach constituted the establishment of a new orthodoxy, a bloodless form of undenominationalism. Some felt apparently that Christianity showed such division of belief that no substantial doctrinal teaching could be given in schools. Common content would be vaguely Christian; common beliefs would be the least significant beliefs. With the development of the common doctrinal basis of agreed syllabus instruction, this criticism, perhaps more accurately, this anticipated fear, has been dispelled. Most of those who work in the field or who have observed it closely agree that there is an extensive body of doctrine upon which denominations agree, and that this doctrine is of such value that it should be taught to all.

Furthermore, as leaders of the agreed syllabus approach saw it, a new orthodoxy was not being imposed. Agreed syllabus teaching was, according to the editor of the _Journal of the Institute for Christian Education_, "what the Churches, other than the Roman Catholic, the teachers, the local authorities and the directors of education, and even the political parties, united to bring about."[142] A syllabus was not imposed by Churches or Ministry; a particular syllabus was developed through an authorized process involving the local education authorities. In this sense no new orthodoxy was imposed by arbitrary decision.

It is interesting to observe, however, that the above passage continues by pointing out that the syllabuses would be "unhesitantly Christian: in a Christian country we cannot substitute creative evolution or moralistic humanism for the God made known to men in Jesus."

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[142] B. A. Yeaxlee, "The Butler Act in Practice," _Religion in Education_, XII (November, 1944), p. 2.

This must mean that some kind of perimeter is set up about what is "unhesitantly Christian." Presumably, some interpretations of God--those acceptable to the meanstream of English churches--are preferable to others, and in this sense are orthodox. However, one encounters other views about the essential character of religious life which are difficult to assimilate to this view of orthodox Christianity. Consider, for instance, this advice to teachers by the Director of the Institute of Education in the University of Birmingham and former President of the Institute of Christian Education:

> The question whether a person's attitude to life is religious or irreligious does not turn on his acceptance or rejection of propositions about the existence of God, but rather upon whether his fundamental attitude towards the universe around him is one of reverence and worship, accepting life as a gift even though he may have no clear notion whose gift it is, or one of acquisitive exploitation, treating the resources of nature as things to be made use of for his convenience.[143]

How this view relates to the criterion that the teaching should be "unhesitantly Christian" is not clear.

Since the 1944 enactment of agreed syllabus for religious education, considerable attention has been given to appraising and seeking to improve instruction under this policy. We have in previous pages noted the various publications of the Institute of Christian Education which have endeavored to create a better understanding of the policy, to raise the standard of religious education, and to stimulate the improvement and enrichment of the teaching of religion. As one surveys the volumes of Religion in Education (now Learning for Living) and other publications, one finds more attention given to the educational aspects of problems of religious education. Efforts are made to analyze the successes and failures of various methods of teaching and to study the social, intellectual, and pedagogical conditions which this teaching encounters.

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[143] M. V. C. Jeffreys, Religious Education (London: The Schoolmaster Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 10.

Over the years there has been a concern with the lack of integration between religious teaching and the concerns and problems of modern life. But much depends upon what one has in mind when voicing this criticism and when interpreting the policies within which the teaching derives its meaning and direction.

Some try to "diagnose the causes of the drift to paganism among the young" since they find about sixty percent of secondary students technically or nominally Christian and of the remainder nearly two-thirds doubtful and the rest skeptics.[144] The bases for these designations are not provided but the Christians are spoken of as those who are "genuinely grateful for being shown the sound reasons which lie behind their faith." According to this view, these reasons, which serve to support the light of Christ shining through a dark and chaotic world, concern overcoming the apparent contradiction between religion and science and founding an ethics on Divine authority rather than the shifting sands of convention. The goal of religious education is to promote the Christian answers to these matters without imposing them by authority, and to relate these truths to "the values of life." However, a large proportion of students

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[144] B. G. Sandhurst, "The Customer's Verdict," Religion in Education, XIV (Spring, 1947), pp. 51-55.

(the figure arrived at in the study is 83 percent) do not think they receive meaningful life directives from their religious education classes.

One finds much writing based upon the impressions that an author has developed from his experience. There is a tendency to use indeterminate classifications and percentages frequently referred to as facts. The theme of relating religious instruction to life seems to be used to reinforce certain preferences which may not reveal their philosophical or theological presuppositions. While English policy may not be directly responsible for "studies" of this kind, it opens the door to instances of special pleading which need to be distinguished from critical studies of the problems of implementing educational policy.

Another article reports some evidences obtained by the School Broadcasting Council concerning their broadcasts for Sixth Forms.[145] According to this inquiry, Sixth Formers ask that other religions than Christianity be investigated. They voice the suspicion that the listener is being "got at," his defenses being broken down, when a Christian speaks of his faith. They resist the dogmatic attitude of mind which sees no value in any viewpoint but its own. The article expresses the view that skepticism is a natural and healthy expression of intellectual curiosity and seeks to use it to encourage students to discuss and challenge traditional formulations as an aid to the rebuilding of their own faith.

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[145] Robert C. Walton, "Some Sixth Form Attitudes to Religion," Religion in Education, XXII (Autumn, 1954), pp. 8-13.

The comments of the Sixth Formers have been used in this study to suggest the reorganization of the broadcast's approach to religious topics. The students' responses suggest a continuing conversation related to personal experiences and problems rather than a logical and systematic unfolding of a central Christian doctrine. The directors of the broadcasts have faced the question of whether to yield to the demand for a "good argument" between atheists and Christians or whether to design a series in which the underlying meanings of a religious view are revealed by the reflections of different respondents. The problem becomes one, not of accepting students' reponses at face value or of designing broadcasts simply to meet their immediate interests, but rather of increasing the students' penetration into the meanings of the premises of religious beliefs. Students are seen to seek the grounds for religious conviction. However, this is seen as dependent upon the efforts of other parts of the community, the parents and the church, to help the student "find a secure place in a worshipping Christian community."

The two articles, of which we have just given interpretative summaries, represent in a sense the range of efforts to direct religious education in ways consistent with certain interpretations of policy. On the one hand are efforts to use student responses as means for suggesting greater effort in Christian apologetics. On the other hand, efforts are made to deal more imaginatively with the premises of Christian belief as the student experiences them.

However, this observation should not be taken to mean that there is a single dimension running through studies about religious education or that there is a unanimity concerning the more specific operating directions of religious education. We have noted the appeal that many syllabuses make to ensure that children will enter into active membership in a church. However, some articles reveal that different purposes may be more central at various age or grade levels, and that some of these purposes may not point directly at "full membership in a worshipping community."

For instance, a series of statements dealing with religious teaching at the primary, secondary modern, and grammar school levels[146] suggests that at the primary level children should develop the desire to live a Christian life the whole meaning of which will gradually fill out as the child matures. At the secondary modern level the Bible is to be made relevant to adolescent lives yet "whether the boys and girls that we teach come to feel the reality of the living Jesus is not a matter for which we are responsible."[147] At the grammar school level the student should acquire a knowledge of Christianity, its origin, effects, and importance. He should be "helped to understand facts which may assist the development of the spiritual side of his nature."[148] With greater maturity there seems to be a decreasing emphasis on doctrine and commitment. The extent to which "membership in a worshipping community" is a practical goal or criterion for the school's function in religious instruction seems to be an open question.

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[146] M. E. Aspinall, A. E. White, and J. B. Bradburg, "The Teaching of Religious Knowledge," Journal of Institute of Education of Durham University, IV (January, 1953), pp. 13-17.

[147] Aspinall, et al., p. 15.

[148] Aspinall, et al., p. 16.

In this connection it might be noted that a study of English religious behavior by an Oxford social psychologist found a decline in religion in Britain, except for Roman Catholics, particularly in regard to church attendance from 1900 to 1950.[149] Although he made no effort to relate education in schools with religious behavior, this omission and his suggestion of other factors bearing on this decline suggest that what happens in school has not led to increase in church attendance. Some have felt that religious education in schools may be felt by many to substitute for church activity and attendance.

Another kind of study seeking to improve the quality of religious education is exemplified by Professor Hilliard's attempt to describe the ideas of God characteristic of children from the first to the fifth year of secondary school.[150] First year views, characterized by human imagery, gradually change to more diffuse designations, but perhaps the chief value of the study consists in its indicating the difficulties that children have in achieving a meaningful abstract or spiritual view. Similar inquiry into children's ideas of heaven, of moral ideas and the like are also reported.

The use of teenage attitudes in making the teaching of religion more effective is expressed in a well-known study which recognizes that "two thirds of our children declare themselves dissatisfied with the religious instruction they now receive."[151]

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[149] Argyle, pp. 24-28.

[150] F. H. Hilliard, "Ideas of God Among Secondary School Children," Religion in Education, XXV (Autumn, 1959), pp. 14-19.

[151] Harold Loukes, Teenage Religion (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962), p. 83.

> If we read between the lines that our critics write, remembering their cautionary remarks that discussion can be a waste of time, and that discussion needs preliminary knowledge, but remembering too the weight of opinion against repetitiveness and monotony, we begin to see that they are most of them in all seriousness asking for a class in which the teacher is ready to teach, but to teach what they begin to feel the need of learning; to present the message of the Bible in relation to the issues of the present moment, and then to wait, open and friendly--'at ease'--for the class to 'have it out' and to try to 'get nearer to the truth' . . . .
>
> The desire is overwhelming for something that represents an open situation, in which the teacher does not abdicate either his initiative or his authority, but uses them to discover what is going on in the minds of his class, and then to take them demonstrably, palpably, sensibly, 'nearer to the truth'.[152]

It is clear from later pages that this does not mean that religion is to be turned into ethics nor does it mean that the school can itself be an organic part of the church, although it should lay the intellectual foundations for that affiliation. It does mean that Christian education should "rest on the same open ground as that of all our education: it must seek to perform some task which would be accepted as healthy, contributing to wholeness of the personality, and would not be judged by the conscientious agnostic to be limiting or hampering."[153]

In this view the justification for non-denominational Christian teaching is an educational justification.

> What can be objected, by the conscientious agnostic, is that while children are too young to judge, they should not be indoctrinated in such a way as to reduce their powers of judgment in the years to come. But this is no argument against including in the school curriculum the Christian view of man and his

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[152] Loukes, p. 83.

[153] Loukes, p. 96.

> meaning. No one can be the worse for having met it: to meet it squarely is an exercise in freedom.[154]

It is the continued religious growth of the individual in relationship with his total personality which is drawn into the center of attention as an educational value directing the policy of religious education.

> This argument does not constitute an attempt to find a highest common factor among all shades of opinion in the community, by way of producing a harmless, universal syllabus of religious instruction that no one can object to. It is an attempt to clear the grounds on which a Christian must stand if he is to be honest in his acceptance of the charge laid upon him. This he must do, not merely because he lives in an open society, but with no more authority than that society confers upon him, but because his duty as a teacher is first to the children under his care.[155]

Thus the values directing the program of Christian teaching are the distinctively educational values of the openness of the knowledge situation, the freedom of the individual to explore the fullness of man's knowledge, and the ability of the individual to continue to develop to the full range of his possibilities. It is in the education of personality that the teacher finds his authorization for the teaching of nondenominational Christianity.

In addition to the studies done or reported under the auspices of the Institute of Christian Education, to which we have already referred--chiefly, the report, Religious Education in Schools, 1957; Niblett's Christian Education in a Secular Society, 1960; Loukes' Teenage Religion, 1961--a number of studies of the problems of religious education have appeared from the Institutes and Departments of Education of the various Universities.

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[154] Loukes, p. 97.

[155] Loukes, p. 97.

The University of Sheffield Institute of Education published a survey by a study group which tried to discover the weaknesses of the Agreed Syllabuses in relation to what should be achieved in religious education. The report found that "what the teacher was teaching and what the Agreed Syllabus provided were often far apart."[156] The chief criticisms of the syllabuses were: (1) they laid down artificial divisions of topics; (2) they gave little help for the teacher's need for simplified schemes of study; (3) they had much material irrelevant to the lives and experiences of students; (4) they did not deal sufficiently with Christian problems in the twentieth century; and (5) they were too idealistic, too pietistic, too ahistorical. These criticisms by the study group were then apparently related to the results of a questionnaire seeking to sample strategically the knowledge, opinions, and religious habits of secondary students in modern secondary, technical, and grammar schools.

Although a summary of the "findings" of the study does not do justice to it, the survey may be represented as essentially critical of present agreed syllabus instruction on the following grounds:

> (1) The standard of religious knowledge in the schools today . . . is clearly very poor. . . . It is believed that the results obtained are fairly representative of the general state of affairs throughout the country.

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[156] Hugh M. Pollard, et al., Religious Education in Secondary Schools (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961), p. 13.

> (2) . . . There is not the wide spread in religious knowledge which one might expect. In many departments of religious knowledge there is little or no difference between the results from the Grammar Schools and those from the Modern Schools. . . . We cannot blame the lack of ability in the children for unsatisfactory results. . . .
>
> (3) Although the general standard of the candidates (for teaching certificates) is rising . . . statistics show little increase in the numbers offering religious education as a main subject . . . . The large majority of teachers giving religious education have not received any specialist training in it.
>
> (4) (Most of the syllabuses are) elaborate schemes of work rather than syllabuses. This we believe to be a basic fault in the system . . . . To teach most Agreed Syllabuses adequately would demand not only the services of an accomplished theologian but also six or more teaching periods a week.[157]

In another study of the teaching of an "orthodox syllabus" by qualified specialists in the Sixth Form of the Grammar School the evidences were said to leave three major impressions.[158] (1) Sixth Formers "have in general, a serious and searching attitude towards religion. . . . The primary question is not whether God exists, but how He should be thought about." (2) "School had little influence upon religious belief . . . and this was especially true of the specifically religious activities." (3) "Clearly the most powerful influence upon religious belief . . . is that of the parents." The report further says that "the rigorous study of religious knowledge has never been tried" and the value of open discussion, independence of thought, and creative contribution should receive more recognition.

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[157] Pollard, et al., pp. 44-47.

[158] D. S. Wright, "A Study of Religious Belief in Sixth Form Boys," Researches and Studies (October, 1962), pp. 19-27.

That these dissatisfactions with the program of religious education are not only recent developments is shown by a report in 1954 of the religious knowledge and beliefs of students coming to the Training Colleges to prepare for teaching in the State schools.[159] The author observes that "something approaching eighty-five per cent of the children of this country must of necessity pass through the hands of teachers trained in one or another of the training colleges."[160] Hence the quality of the Sixth Formers sent on by the grammar schools for training in the colleges is of central importance. The major generalizations as stated by the author are as follows:

> (a) There is a most disquieting ignorance of what may reasonably be called the content of the subject and of the Bible in particular.
>
> (b) There is in many schools an unawareness that there is an academic approach to the subject, or that great scholarship has been brought to bear upon religious problems, or that very real progress has been made toward their solution.
>
> (c) There is too often an inability, or alternatively an unwillingness to exercise, any critical faculties upon the subject, an unwillingness possibly born of fear.
>
> (d) There is a very clearly felt need for, and appreciation of, seminar instruction, especially when guided by a competent and above all sympathetic adviser.
>
> (e) There is much evidence to suggest that what might be called a synoptic standpoint is conspicuous only by its absence . . . .
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> (f) Finally, young people appear to find very real difficulty in seeing any relevance between what they are taught and the demands of the life that they are called upon to live.[161]

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[159] J. W. Daines, "Religion and the Sixth Forms," Religion in Education, XXI (Spring, 1954), pp. 62-68.

[160] Daines, p. 63.

[161] Daines, p. 64.

A later study by the same author[162] reports the responses to a questionnaire answered by students drawn from three training colleges, one a denominational college for women and the other two coeducational L.E.A. colleges. Its conclusions run in the same general direction as those of the other studies we have reported. It emphasizes the need to introduce students to new ways of learning and to the development of tools for a more critical approach to knowledge and experience. A 'deeper understanding' and a 'wider perspective' are as much indicated in the religious sphere as in the secular. Although there is no evidence of any violent change in the religious practices of students as a result of college experience, many feel a more mature understanding in religious matters and this could be encouraged earlier with advantage in the sixth forms.

Some research seeks to re-examine the assumptions made by the syllabuses concerning the capacities, interests, and levels of insight demanded of students at various maturity levels. The effort is to consider what is known about children's thinking, concept formation, ability to bring the products of experience to bear upon events, and the like from the point of view of its bearing upon religious thinking. R. J. Goldman states that the aims of his research are "to ascertain the religious concepts central to understanding religious stories, to discover what sequence, if any, exist by which pupils' levels of understanding progress, and to evaluate the logical processes used by pupils in religious thinking."[163] Test procedures involve a standardized interview in which youngsters respond to pictures and recordings eliciting their interpretations. Results are scored and scaled in such a way that sequences of thinking can be identified and shifts to a higher quality noted. Thus for example, Dr. Goldman finds that at about 11:3 M.A. (eleven years and three months, Mental Age) "pupils begin to see the Church as helping personally, not merely in answering questions in the R.I. lesson (a depressingly frequent answer), but in moral behavior, in achieving peace or confidence, or in supporting belief."

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[162] J. W. Daines, An Enquiry into the Methods and Effects of Religious Education in Sixth Forms (Nottingham: University of Nottingham Institute of Education, 1962).

The consequence of these studies is that "We now have a more realistic idea of what children and adolescents can absorb in terms of religious material. There is an interesting agreement by current researchers that religious teaching at all stages should be more pupil-centered and less subject-centered."[164]

The conclusions resulting from these investigations are, typically: that much Bible material suggested for children is unsuited to their instructional level; that pushing beyond the child's limits of understanding may reinforce crudities of thinking and lead to regressive thinking; that indirect methods rather than intellectual presentation by instruction would seem to be profitable; that intellectual insights into Old Testament material appears to be difficult to achieve before the secondary level of schooling; and the like.[165] Further interpretation suggests that "The content in the first years of secondary schooling should introduce youngsters to a liberal view of the Bible so that they see its grand design. This should not be a chronological history but an exciting discovery of man's eternal problems, about which the Bible speaks supremely."[166] Thus psychological research supports a "liberal" interpretation of the Bible. Religious teaching should avoid on the one hand being dull, childish, and irrelevant and on the other hand creating resistance by treating the child as a mere information receiver.[167]

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[163] R. J. Goldman, "The Development of Religious Thinking," Learning for Living, II (May, 1963), p. 7.

[164] R. J. Goldman, "The Agreed Syllabus: A Guide for Reformers," The Times Education Supplement, October 4, 1963, p. 439.

[165] R. J. Goldman, "The Development of Religious Thinking," p. 9.

Goldman's recommendation that the learner's negative attitude to religious teaching be met by a liberal-critical method of treating the Bible is criticized by those who defend "the authority of Biblical teaching."

> . . . It is just this very liberal-critical view of the Bible which undermines the authority of Biblical teaching and tends to evoke a negative attitude on the part of pupils. This view of the Bible bases sweeping subjective judgments upon scanty factual evidence which is too inconclusive to give adequate support to these judgments. "Biblical truth" vanishes behind a smoke-screen of human conceptions which are, after all, those of fallen men. Realizing that this is, in effect, a substitution of authority by which the ideas of men usurp God's revelation, and also that religious truth is not entirely susceptible to subjective human analysis, they (i.e., children) treat such teaching with a reverse and even skepticism which is entirely healthy. It is to subjectivism in religion, which the liberal-

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[166] R. J. Goldman, "The Agreed Syllabus: A Guide for Reformers," p. 439.

[167] R. J. Goldman's more recent Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964) incorporates material from the earlier articles and has become a standard reference in the field. Three "more general implications" for religious education (Ch. 15) include: (1) The need to examine the concepts involved in understanding material chosen for any given age group; (2) the limits of understanding imposed by the levels of operational thinking; (3) the need for a more child-centered religious education.

> critical view involves, that the young have built up a resistance. Events in the world around them, of which they are becoming acutely aware, do not lead them to consider as trustwrothy the moral and spiritual judgments of men apart from some absolute divine authority.[168]

It is probable that efforts to revise religious teaching in directions that are claimed to follow from psychological inquiry will encounter this kind of opposition particularly from the ranks of the clergy.

The apparent mounting discontent with the agreed syllabus approach to religious education is also expressed by a volume which reports the general verdict of students to be, "you can take it that pretty well the whole of the sixth form is fed up with Christianity."[169] The purpose of the book is to condemn present teaching of religion in schools and to offer in its place a discussion-based course on life in the twentieth century as seen and interpreted by a modernistic but devout Christian. Acland calls for a fundamental change in Christian teaching which would bring it up to date with what the jacket of the book calls the "egalitarian, science-minded and power-driven age of man." He pleads for a "child-centered and life-centered, rather than a syllabus-centered, approach to religious teaching." The book, written "not perhaps in a white heat, but in at least, a pale pink glow of indignation," has spread much of its glow into the current discussion of the adequacy of present policy.

The position of F. H. Hilliard in his recent book (The Teacher and Religion, 1963) represents in a sense the other side of the coin to the Acland position. For him the study of the Bible should be retained at the center of Christian teaching. Taking into account the studies showing that agreed syllabus instruction has largely failed to achieve its purposes, he seeks to revise the methods in religious education and to promote a distinctively educational approach to religious teaching. State schools should not be an extension of Church evangelistic work; they should "seek to teach, rather than to preach, to enlighten rather than to convert."[170] The school should seek to refine its teaching of religion as it has improved the quality of instruction in other fields, by the development of professional educational competence.

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[168] Times Educational Supplement, October 11, 1963, p. 488.

[169] Sir Richard Acland, We Teach Them Wrong (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1963), p. 17.

A number of criticisms of English policy today are based upon an appeal to educational principles as distinct from questions of faith such as the kind of interpretation of the Bible that should be given to children. The consideration is not whether the Bible should be interpreted liberally or as a unique revelation of the word of God. It is rather whether sound understanding of the controlling purposes of education are directing religious education.

Anthony Hartley, promoting the view that the intellectual aims of education should replace aims which are directed to particular beliefs about the reconstruction of the social order, holds:

> . . . it is rather doubtful whether the use of schools and universities to indoctrinate the pupils with a creed, whether religious, nationalist or merely social, can genuinely be called education. This purpose often seems to involve shackling the minds of those under instruction rather than that liberation of them through knowledge and wisdom which should be desired. For

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[170] F. H. Hilliard, The Teacher and Religion (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd, 1963), p. 47.

> it is the essence of such a liberation that any choice of belief should be a free choice with a full knowledge of the possible alternatives.[171]

This criticism confronts most directly those interpretations of policy which hold that religious education should seek to develop committed Christians in the sense that the outcome of teaching should be measured by membership in a church. Since views like that of Mr. Hartley are premised on the freedom of informed choice, they open the door to policies which are much broader than those seeking to preserve the main channels of Christianity in English life.

Some attention has been given to a fuller concern with the problems of freedom in religious teaching. This concern recognizes that not only is religious instruction compulsory but the syllabuses are drawn up, not by teachers sensitive to educational considerations about the freedom of choice, but by denominationalists seeking a compromise about old disputes. "Their origin is political rather than educational."[172] The teacher has only a limited freedom which is further limited by other considerations than the needs and capacities of children--for instance the considerable pressure of examinations in secondary school subjects.[173]

Furthermore, conditions in modern life as well as changing conceptions in education have led to new attitudes toward learning by students and teachers. In secular subjects students are encouraged to think out problems for themselves, to question what has been taken for granted, and to form their own judgments. If in religious lessons questions, discussion, and independence of opinion are repressed, students are likely to conclude that they are required to accept answers on authority other than that of their own critical intelligence. In the view of the author of this article, it is not the clauses of the Act of 1944 that need attention so much as the framing of the syllabuses so that they demand neither the impossible nor the restriction of the teacher to carry out the principles of his art.

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[171] Anthony Hartley, A State of England (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1963), p. 196.

[172] L. W. Myers, "Freedom in Religious Education," The Journal of Education (September, 1952), p. 403.

[173] In all honesty it should be noted that some of my English colleagues have demurred at the brief and unbalanced appraisals suggested in this paragraph.

> . . . We are bound to seek in all possible ways to foster the independent development of our pupils to the best of their individual capacity, and to refrain altogether from attempts to mould their minds or their characters to our own ideas. We cannot, therefore, be missionaries for a creed, or even for the Christian faith. We can rightly do no more than enable our pupils to see what that faith claims to be . . . .[174]

If these aims were primary, the educational product would be measured less by amounts of information or "the wealth of inculcated ideas that its pupils can express" and more by the "extent to which it creates an active desire to go on learning and discovering. This standard applies even more to religious than to secular education, and we shall have done all that we can rightly attempt if, when our pupils leave us, they seriously desire to know more about the faith of Christianity."[175]

The article ends on a note which is more and more sounded in current discussions.

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[174] Myers, p. 404.

[175] Myers, p. 404.

> In the past teachers have said too little about this question. We are the experts, and we should assert our convictions, claiming to decide the aims that are legitimate and the methods that are appropriate, and resisting the attempts of any who, without our knowledge or experience, seek to impose upon us schemes or objectives that in our opinion are unsuitable.[176]

Although this article appeared more than a decade ago, it expresses a concern with the direction of English policy which may be subjected to examination in the years ahead.

Current dissatisfaction with the terms of the 1944 settlement is expressed in an article on the leader page of the Times Educational Supplement for November 13, 1964. H. A. Ree, Professor of Education at the University of York, a staunch supporter of the grammar school as a separate entity, is disturbed at the "undisguised boredom, indifference, and contempt" which carries over into young people's attitudes toward the church as a consequence of an enforced daily act of worship in school. Teachers and headmasters feel the pressures of conformity. Subtle pressures are exerted against withdrawal. A case is made by Professor Ree for religious service before or after the official school day and for assemblies that might have religious but not specifically Christian character. Integrity rather than conformity to doctrine characterizes Professor Ree's approach to the management of questions of worship in school, and it is probable that a number of churchmen are sympathetic to his view and confirm his argument. Yet the probability of Government and Parliament undertaking legislation to recast the religious requirements of 1944 seems very remote.

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[176] Myers, p. 404.

We consider now criticisms and appraisals which challenge the policy instituted in 1944 and seek to have it in whole or in part reconsidered.

In general, the voices expressing dissent from the agreement of 1944 are not highly organized. One does not find societies pressing for fundamental policy changes with the diligence and effectiveness characteristic of organizations seeking to improve religious teaching under present policy. Voices of basic dissent in contemporary England appear to be for the most part individual voices speaking through channels that are not organized primarily to effect changes in present policy. Perhaps the clearest exception to this generalization is to be found in the National Secular Society which conducted a Secular Education Month during November, 1964. This activist group campaigns against state aid for religion in state-controlled and in denominational schools. Although the group reports that the "Month" was widely reported in the national and provincial press, on radio and television, it is doubtful that a widely shared national interest in secular education is in the offing. Yet the fact that the "Month" was held at all, and was well reported, constitutes an item in a growing list of dissatisfactions with the 1944 settlement.

It may be that as Tudor David has observed, "The secularist dragon is dormant at present."[177] He says that it has been slumbering since the first decadc of the century when the Secular Education League and a number of secularistic journals were influential.

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[177] David, p. 19.

> But it would be a mistake to suppose that secularism has no fire left in its belly. What is more, a revived secular movement might well have a more influential and cohesive leadership than it had in the 1900's. Humanism now has powerful adherents in the most surprising quarters and not least important among the teachers.[178]

However, although humanists may be found in important places and although the voice of humanism may be heard in such works as The Humanist Frame,[179] there is little coordinated movement of the character of the organized voices of the Christian churches.

Rumblings of discontent with present policy are made somewhat more explicit in some activities sponsored by The Ethical Union. In general, these express dissatisfaction with the existing provisions for moral education in schools and challenge the easy assumption that this is settled through present patterns of religious instruction. Although direct moral instruction, telling the young how they ought to behave, may be neither desirable nor effective, according to this view, education in ethical thinking and the critical forming of ethical judgments is another matter. H. J. Blackham, Secretary of The Ethical Union, suggests four general common aims to guide the re-thinking of present policy:

> (1) the child should be enabled and encouraged to think for himself;
>
> (2) the perplexing diversity of beliefs and convictions, and lack of belief and conviction, which is characteristic of the world about him, should not be concealed nor exaggerated,

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[178] David, p. 19.

[179] Julian Huxley (ed.), The Humanist Frame (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961).

but should be taken as the situation in which the child has to choose his way;

(3) he should be helped to sort out his ideas and to resolve his difficulties and conflicts;

(4) he sould be taught to appreciate that ideas have a history, and change and develop, rise and fall, in ways of their own.[180]

These aims would help develop what it is claimed "most parents the world over want for their children in school, religion without dogma and without prejudice." This effort involves treating the Bible more imaginatively as "literature of a religious faith and experience" rather than as "sacred scripture, a book apart, divinely inspired, being revealed truth essential to salvation." This view is also critical of a compulsory daily ritual which may stultify, as it sees it, rather than express and inspire a higher quality of religious experience.

Criticism of this humanistic view, or at least disagreement with some of its ingredients, has been expressed over the years through the journals seeking to implement the 1944 settlement.[181] The content of a BBC broadcast by a scientific humanist, who regarded "orthodox Christianity as no longer intellectually tenable," may also be cited as an example of the continued discussion of the fundamental assumptions of present policy. In the early months of 1955 Mrs. Margaret Knight, psychologist, stirred up a hornet's nest of indignation as well as critical discussions by stating the case for morality independent of religious doctrine and sanction.[182] It is infeasible to discuss here the range of considerations raised in the letters concerning the broadcasts as well as in the talks themselves. However, it can be reported that the discussions show the highly controversial assumptions involved in present policy, the continued debate in English life about the grounds of this policy, and the considerable willingness to entertain these considerations without upsetting the educational efforts of the nation under the framework of the 1944 Act.

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[180] H. J. Blackham, "Religion in Schools," The Hibbert Journal, LXI (July, 1963), p. 181.

[181] D. E. Evans, "Religious Education and Some of Its Critics," Religion in Education, XI (November, 1943), pp. 33-37.

One of the key ingredients of the state of the religious settlement in English schools is the attitude of the largest teachers' professional association, the National Union of Teachers. Without entering a discussion of the qualifications and complexities that should be entertained in order to have a full picture of the significance of the position of the N.U.T., it seems clear that its cooperation in the development of national policy about religion and schooling has been an important contributing factor in the present settlement.

Asher Tropp, in his social history of the teaching profession,[183] reviews the role of the N.U.T. in the negotiations leading to the 1944 Act. Sir Frederick Mander, General Secretary of the N.U.T. in this period, stated the position of the teachers.

> . . . They know that (a general educational advance) can only come with the achievement of a national system of schools within which the local authorities can provide, maintain, re-group, reorganize, close or replace and generally control all the schools

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[182] Margaret Knight, "Morals Without Religion," The Listener, January and February, 1955.

[183] Tropp, pp. 231-247.

> and teaching staffs in their respective areas. They see no reason whatsoever why the Archbishops and their Anglican colleagues should continue to call the tune in schools maintained, although not provided, by the local authorities, and in addition, with the help of Free Churchmen, call the tune in the schools both provided and maintained out of public money.[184]

The teachers and the representatives of the churches "clashed violently" in the negotiations since the union strongly upheld the Cowper-Temple clause. "It was resolved to maintain that basis and to fight against any increased control by the clergy or any attempt to impose religious tests on teachers. For its own part it demanded that any further public aid to the non-provided schools should involve an extension of public control."[185]

The attitude of the N.U.T. in the early years of the operation of the 1944 Act seems to be well expressed in the following several paragraphs from The Schoolmaster of March 24, 1949:

> For the purpose of obtaining a unified system of education and as a means of providing a greater measure of equality of educational opportunity for all children many educationists --though not without hesitation--accepted the clauses in the Education Act which deal with religious instruction in County Schools. Only with reluctance did the teachers accept them. One reason frequently advanced for that reluctance was a lack of confidence that all the representatives of the Churches would abide by the terms of the compromise reached by national representatives of the various interests.
>
> But having accepted the arrangements the teachers sought loyally to carry them out both in the spirit and in the letter. The National Union of Teachers collaborated with representative men of the various Churches and representatives of the L.E.A.'s to formulate The Basic Outline of Religious Instruction. In the various areas representative teachers have cooperated with

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[184] Tropp, p. 231.

[185] Tropp, p. 231.

> Church representatives and others in the preparation of Agreed Syllabuses. They have, therefore, given every proof of their intention to make religious instruction an integral part of the curriculum and of school training. H.M.I.'s have reported that they are doing so with success.[186]

Within the context of this cooperation the N.U.T. appears to have been sensitive to what it took to be unwarranted criticisms of the efforts of the teachers and to attempts as it saw it to reinstitute control by the clergy in religious instruction in county schools.

For instance, in the September 8, 1949 "Notes of the Week" column, the spokesman for the teachers chastizes a Bishop who had "impugned the professional honour of members of the teaching profession" by saying, "In many cases, as some of you know, time that is allotted for religious teaching is used for other purposes, simply because the teacher is a little bit embarrassed about these things or, again, perhaps does not believe in the Christian faith."[187] The N.U.T. points out that no teacher needs to use subterfuge if he does not believe in the Christian faith or if he prefers not to participate in religious instruction. It observes that the criticism does not contribute to the cooperation which characterized the 1944 Act, the subsequent efforts of teachers, and the relations between clergy and teachers. In large part, this incident epitomizes the position of the N.U.T. in the first twenty years of the policies enacted in 1944.

In a similar incident Sir Ronald Gould, General Secretary of the N.U.T. since 1947, responded in the Sunday Graphic to what he took to be unwarranted attacks by a clergyman in the January 9, 1949, issue of the paper.[188] Mr. Gould in other addresses showed the willingness of the teachers to go along with the rationale of the 1944 settlement. In this view, education was the means by which people shall be improved and as a consequence a better world made possible. Their improvement is to be sought through moral and religious training until they will instinctively reject faulty standards of conduct and this is to be done by placing before them the example of Jesus.[189]

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[186] The Schoolmaster, March 24, 1949.

[187] The Schoolmaster, September 8, 1949.

A number of articles in The Schoolmaster in this period indicate the receptive attitude of the N.U.T. to undenominational religious education and attempt to deal helpfully with how the job should be done.[190]

By the 1960s Robert Londin, Chairman of the Education Department of the British Council of Churches, could observe, "the whole atmosphere of school-church relationships has changed quietly but effectively in the past ten years."[191] Suspicion and misunderstanding was giving way to frank discussion of problems and a wider range of cooperation. The pamphlet reporting this change in outlook is the outcome of more than two years of meetings between the N.U.T. and representatives of the Education Department of the B.C.C. Two things are done: procedural rules are laid down; some examples of cooperation are given. The latter are mostly in the form of church services and school-leavers' conferences. The former refer mainly to cooperative action, particularly in the form of representative local committees. Emphasis is given to "an ecumenical approach" and the schools are warned against "bodies and groups which lack the ecumenical approach and which tend to set up new groups divorced from the Church as it exists, and which are often strongly critical of the religious education offered by the schools."[192] On the whole, the pamphlet is modest and cautious in what it has to say and manifests a spirit of amity between school and church.

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[188] The Schoolmaster, January 20, 1949.

[189] The Schoolmaster, October 28, 1948.

[190] W. H. Backhouse, "Religious Teaching in Secondary Schools," The Schoolmaster, March 10 and 17, 1949, pp. 308, 318, 340, and 346.

[191] National Union of Teachers, School-Church Relationships (Pamphlet #238, n.d.), p. 3.

Recent issues of The Teacher, the current title of the N.U.T.'s weekly, reveal that more space is being given to the discussion of religion in education, and its columns reveal a mounting wave of criticism of the character of religious instruction and particularly of collective worship in the schools.

An article called, "Captive Congreations"[193] points out that although "We pride ourselves on the freedom of English education, yet in one case, and in one case only, the content of education is laid down." It is suggested that daily doses may have been thought to remedy "the increasing insecurity of the Christian religion." The conscience clause is ineffective since many parents are ignorant of it and are usually indifferent. The piece argues for putting worship "back where it belongs, in the home, the church, and the chapel" and for instruction in other great religions which would be more appropriate in our present world of closer contact between nations. It is time that Christianity abandon its position of entrenched privilege and that the consciences of many teachers be liberated.

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[192] National Union of Teachers, pp. 8-9.

[193] The Teacher, November 15, 1963.

In another article a young teacher is worried about the "automatic inevitable pattern of all schools" where teachers are "to keep order" and make sure that The Lord's Prayer is not mumbled, and to see that "some reverence, even if only simulated" is enforced.[194] The character of the author's objections are worth noting in detail.

> What worries me is that I am required to do this every morning in defiance of any conscience I might have. Maybe it is because I am new that I chafe at the hypocrisy required of me. I must police children and mumble hymns and prayers, without believing at all in either the ceremony itself or the wider implications of it. Nobody seems to care that there is any hypocrisy.
>
> Presumably the laws allowing liberty of religious conscience to the teacher were framed to protect the unbeliever as well as the many sects. Yet it is assumed, as a matter of course, that this duty, like playground patrols and dinner duties, will be done by all the staff, whatever their views.
>
> . . . .
>
> . . . if we really wanted, we could create enough trouble to get out of it.
>
> But in how many schools has this freedom to contract out any substance? Does it not mean extra duties, begrudged written permissions and other humiliations heaped on these odd teachers who refuse to help?
>
> And we have our references to think of.
>
> . . . .

These remarks seem to hit a responsive chord in the experience of twenty-four members of a school staff who:

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[194] The Teacher, February 28, 1964.

> . . . believe, unequivocally, that the enforcement by the 1944 Act of a religious assembly is immoral, and would urge all teachers who feel as we do to exert what pressure they can for an amendment.
>
> Many Christians, we find, are as worried as atheists and agnostics by the enforcement of a religion supposed to be grounded in a doctrine of free will.
>
> Meanwhile, we can and should make sure that the existing "rights" are vigorously protected both for ourselves and for our pupils.[195]

Other letters to The Teacher are worth quoting at some length since they reveal further difficulties with present policy. For instance, a letter bearing the heading "Morning Blackmail" says:

> . . . Many students on teaching practice must also have found difficulties.
>
> While some schools acknowledge differences of belief and are prepared to excuse atheists and agnostics from the morning religious observance, other schools exercise a kind of blackmail. Students who would prefer to miss the morning service are apprehensive of unfavourable reports from the school to their college. Those who attempt to miss it may be requested by the college authorities to attend "for appearance's sake."
>
> Nor does the fact that few children opt out of the religious service indicate that parents as a whole approve of compulsory religious teaching. Few parents give the matter any thought.
>
> Those who do are often reluctant to make their children appear "different" from their fellows by withdrawing them from the religious assembly, so that many children must receive religious instruction with which their parents are fundamentally in disagreement.[196]

Another letter points out that the government that passed the Act of 1944 did not have

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[195] The Teacher, March 13, 1964.

[196] The Teacher, March 27, 1964.

> . . . a mandate from the people to decide questions of religious observance. Its job was to win the war and we accepted that it must have dictatorial powers for that purpose.
>
> Under cover of necessary educational planning, the religious clauses were pushed through at a time when most of the men and many of the women who should have decided these issues were busy all over the globe with more urgent matters. Certainly the teachers among them were out of touch with educational development and with one another.
>
> . . . .
>
> It is time an effort was made to assess the real views of parents and teachers on the question of religion in schools. Too many teachers have kept silent from a mistaken view that it is their duty to carry out the provisions of the Act regardless of their personal opinion or because their promotion prospects are likely to be affected.
>
> Conformity pays, there is no doubt about that, whatever the theoretical safeguards, as long as the Christian religion is compulsory in the schools run by local authorities and the Church controls numbers of appointments in schools and training colleges.
>
> The tragedy is that there are large numbers of sincere teachers who would like to make a positive contribution to the moral and social training of their pupils if it were not tied to religion.[197]

Another difficulty which current English policy encounters is raised by an incident in which "a fifteen-year-old boy due to read the lesson at morning assembly walked to the front of the stage and declared: 'This morning, I will not read.' This somewhat dramatic incident, which led to his immediate suspension and subsequent resignation" happened at a college of further education, and the 1944 Act does not provide a conscience clause at this level. The incident, according to the report in The Teacher was reported in The Birmingham Post on June 22, 1964. The student had asked to be excused from the morning assembly on the grounds that he objected to the compulsory religious assembly. He had been refused on the grounds that this was a matter of discipline and that he must accept the rules. The Birmingham paper points out that the purpose of worship is religious, not disciplinary, and that a student ought not to have to choose between dropping his study for the G.C.E. and religious conformity. The incident "spotlighted an anomaly which will have to be settled one way or the other: either no act of worship in institutions of further education, or, if there is to be an act of worship, there must be a 'conscience clause' like that in schools if it is not to degenerate into a hollow mockery."[198]

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[197] The Teacher, March 27, 1964.

According to another recent article in The Teacher, playwright Harold Pinter enters the lists against compulsory religious instruction in schools, finding it "ill-taught, ill-considered, and ill-understood."[199] According to this report, "a growing body of public opinion, rapidly becoming more articulate," including many intelligent Christians, were "depressed by the 'rigidity and atrophy' of what had become a ritual ridiculing something that should be a living idea." Mr. Pinter had himself reacted to school assembly with "undisguised boredom, indifference and contempt." He "asked if the history of doubt and unbelief was ever referred to in the schools."

In the "Notes on the News" section of the same paper the objections of Mr. Pinter were used to raise a question concerning the significance of an established Church in this matter. ". . . There is an inevitable confusion between the purely secular authority of the school on the one hand, and the authority of moral law on the other. If we believe in religion, we do not tell children that they must be good because the school rules say they must be good, but because God says they must be good." It is interesting to observe that other alternative views about the authority of moral law, considerably more secular than the assumed authority here, have not entered the picture. However, the article continues by pointing out that the confusion here is more obviously at stake in "statutorily-ordained" worship than in classroom work in religious education.

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[198] The Teacher, July 10, 1964.

[199] The Teacher, July 17, 1964.

It is significant that the criticisms which have recently been voiced in the N.U.T.'s weekly have also been expressed in other sources. The Observer recently printed an article by John Grigg, a well-known critic of the Establishment, in which he argued that "the time has come to review the relationship between the State and religious schools. The State should no longer subsidize sectarian forms of education."[200] The arguments put forward are directed to the policy in support of Roman Catholic aided schools, but as the author intends, they apply also to the support of any denominational schools.

> Should we not try to have schools which are themselves miniature open societies (in the intellectual sense), and should it not be the function of our State to provide such schools, and such schools only, while leaving parents free to have their children indoctrinated at their own expense?
>
> . . . .

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[200] John Grigg, "State, Religion and School," The Observer, June 28, 1964.

> Our State ought to stand for an open, non-sectarian (and, of course, non-political) education: its philosophy ought to be a philosophy of free choice for each individual--not just for parents. It ought to have no special relationship with any religion or any church, and it ought in future to give no financial support to any schools other than its own.

Mr. Grigg concludes by warning that unless this problem is dealt with honestly, unflinchingly, and without delay, the fact that about 15 percent of all babies the country over are baptised into the Roman Catholic Church enables one to predict the future spiritual complexion of Britain. The correspondence elicited by the article seems to indicate considerable concern with teaching which prejudges religious issues too early in the life of the child and policies which separate children at an early, impressionable age and thus may easily mature into instinctive prejudices. The article in The Observer appears to bring the question of the educational values in current policy into the broader area of common discussion.

One further point remains to be made in this survey of British opinions and appraisals of church-school policy. As one ranges through the materials representative of the various interests seeking to have their values and preferences more fully realized in English policy, one finds from a variety of sources the opinion that the religious clauses of the 1944 Act would not be achieved today.

As far back as 1949 The Schoolmaster recognized that no party to the agreement was wholly satisfied but that it was a working arrangement which, taken as a whole, was not unjust or unfair to any. "The conflicting interests were finely balanced. Even so, it is very questionable if the Act would have been accepted had not national and international circumstances created the climate favorable to its passage." The particular combination of circumstances promoting the settlement of 1944 was not likely to recur and "the climate those circumstances created has completely changed. He would be a bold man who affirmed that the Act passed in 1944 would have been passed in 1950."[201]

The Roman Catholics have always regarded the 1944 Act as provisional. The Archbishop of Liverpool, formerly Bishop of Salford, who is Chairman of the Catholic Education Council, has referred to "the myth of the '1944 settlement'",[202] and has made it clear "that the Catholic Hierarchy had never accepted the 1944 Act as a 'settlement'".[203] The Roman Catholic position has consistently been that "the gap in inequality" contributed to by the 50 percent subsidy for "educational reconstruction" rather than full equality by 100 percent subsidy for new schools was only a temporary agreement. And, of course, the agreed syllabus approach has never been acceptable to Catholics whose policy is clearly that every Roman Catholic child should be in a Roman Catholic School taught by a Roman Catholic teacher.

In large part the representatives of the Anglican Church express views which would make the 1944 Act unacceptable today. As we have seen in dealing with the enactments of 1959, according to Tudor David's analysis the more recent view is that nothing short of a school which is a part of the worshipping family of the church will do. That this is not merely a recent view is shown by a letter from the Director of Religious Education for the Diocese of Norwich in 1950. It states:

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[201] The Schoolmaster, December 1, 1949.

[202] Beck, "Background to the Education Act, 1959," p. 5.

[203] George Andrew Beck, "How the 1953 Education Act Took Shape," Catholic Education (December, 1957), p. 2.

> To Church people a true Christian Education can only be given in a school where all the teachers are practising Christians, and where all the subjects are taught with a Christian basis. For instance we do not regard a school as Christian if the religious instruction is given by a Christian, and the science and history taught by an agnostic humanist. Again, we regard it as essential that a Christian school should have as a Head Teacher one who is a practising Christian. . . . There are also sad cases where a keen Christian retires from the Headship, and is replaced by someone who is quite indifferent. . . .

This attitude is hardly in keeping with the spirit of the 1944 policy.

A report of a recent address by Dr. F. Lincoln Ralphs, Chief Education Officer for Norfolk and a stalwart upholder of the Christian basis of the state schools, expresses his concern with the growing disenchantment with the spirit of the 1944 Act.

> It was not surprising, Dr. Ralphs said, that the arguments for the removal *of the religious clauses of the 1944 Act* had grown. It was easier in 1944 to accept the perfectionism of Christianity. . . . Today we had the affluent society. "In those wartime days we were also less well endowed with the students of sociology and psychology who have abandoned the ideal for what they regard as the more realistic, though quantitative concept of normality. In the impersonal atmosphere of a technological age normality is much more at home than Christian perfectionism. Normality is wholly compatible with a society that rests its authority increasingly on majorities and its hope of economic progress on standardization."[204]

Although the full significance of what Dr. Ralphs is referring to would seem to demand more extended consideration, we can see that also within his view the achievement of the policies of the 1944 Act would be highly improbable today.

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[204] The Times Educational Supplement, August 28, 1964, p. 281.

SIGNIFICANCE FOR AMERICAN POLICY

It is time to draw these observations and interpretations into focus on the problem with which we began. What might we learn from policies in England for the nature and development of policies in the United States? We need to consider in what sense we can profit from the consideration of English policy, having in mind the problems involved in interpreting the experience of one culture into meaningful guidelines for another. We shall proceed by considering the suggestion that we should take British policy as a model for our own. In concrete terms this generally means either or both of these propositions: we should subsidize denominational schools as it is done in England; we should teach religion in the public schools after the fashion of the agreed syllabuses in England. Subsequently we shall be concerned with whether there are other *alternatives* concerning the way in which we can profit from the policies of England.

It is frequently argued that policy in the United States is out of step with that in other democratic countries.

> On the most divisive issue among us—that of public aid to independent education—a calm study of the procedures in other democratic countries should calm fears and renew intelligent discussion. Whenever everyone is out of step but Johnny, it behooves Johnny to look at his own feet. In nearly every other nation with principles like our own, government has entered into partnership with religious groups in the manner of primary interest to all—the education of youth. While we will find our own solution, the experience of our peers should help.[205]

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[205] Joseph N. Moody, "A Catholic View of Contemporary Conflict," in The Outbursts That Await Us by Arthur Hertzberg, Martin E. Marty, and Joseph N. Moody (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 120.

Since England is clearly a democracy in which religious freedom and the individual's rights of conscience are prized and protected, we ought to adopt a policy similar to the English support of church schools from public funds. There is nothing undemocratic about it since the basic freedoms of the individual are protected. Further, the principle of distributive justice, which holds that the burdens and benefits of a society should be equitably distributed among its citizens, demands a revision of American policy to bring about a more fair and just use of public money in support of church-controlled schools.

We are not here concerned with the full range of arguments concerning the use of public funds to support church-controlled schools. We are considering only the argument that since other democracies are able to do so without infringing the individual's freedom to believe as he chooses and to have his children educated at public expense in schools of his choice, Americans should prefer policies of this order.

In the light of our investigation of English policy three questions about the effort to model American policy upon that of the British appear relevant. (1) Are the historic and social conditions of the two countries so similar that an analogy in their policies is appropriate? (2) In what sense are the claims about the protection of individual rights in England fulfilled? (3) To what extent are the consequences of English policy desirable in America?

In regard to the first of these questions, it is doubtful that the historical conditions of the development of religion and of education in the two countries is so similar as to recommend that the United States should follow the precedent of English policy. The evidences of dissimilarities are extensive and have appeared at many different points in the preceding pages. We shall mention only three historic conditions. In the first place, the United States was founded primarily by persons of the Protestant faith and had no history of a pre-existing Catholic tradition. In England, as in other European countries, historic institutions and church-state relations were Catholic and involved the reformation of Catholic traditions and the consequences of the Reformation. Second, Education in England was, as we have seen, the business of the church until well into the 19th century. It was not until 1870 that a national system of elementary schools was established side by side with the church schools. Third, not only does England inherit the pattern of an established Church but, as Sir Ernest Barker has pointed out about its national character,[206] religion has been a primary organizing fact and condition of English political and social life. These three conditions, among a number of others, some pertaining to the structure and organization of education, do not apply to the United States. If these differences in the cultural conditions of the two countries are noted and if it is desirable to develop policies that have an adequate regard for the traditions and cultural continuities of a people, it is difficult to see the force of the argument that America should follow the policy of England. Surely, the fact that England has been the source of many American legal institutions does not mean that current public policies in the United States should adopt the pattern of English policy.

In regard to the second question, if what we have observed about the protection of rights of conscience and of religious freedom is a reasonably faithful and balanced account of English experience, the American people might well consider the character of their commitments to these civil liberties. We have seen that English efforts to continue and revitalize the Christian basis of national life have not led unequivocally to the fullest measure of self-determination for all.

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[206] Barker, "An Attempt at Perspective," pp. 570-571.

There is no question of the attention of the molders of English policy to the principles of religious freedom and freedom of thought. For example, Mr. Butler's concern with religious freedom was echoed repeatedly in the Parliamentary debates over the 1944 Act. ". . . There is another element which should never be banished from our system of education. Here we have freedom of thought as well as freedom of conscience. Here we have been the pioneers of religious toleration. . . ."[207] In his next sentences Mr. Butler introduced the grounds of the problem. ". . . But side by side with all this there has been the fact that religion has been the rock in the life and character of the British people upon which they have vuilt their hope and cast their cares. This fundamental element must never be taken from our schools. . . ." Religious freedom and the freedom of conscience are qualified by or exist in the context of Christian belief. Non-belief or belief which falls outside of the mainline English churches does not have the same standing in English life or education. This seems to be a root condition of English policy as it relates to the meaning of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion.

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[207] Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, CCCXCVI (19 January 1944), pp. 267 and 301.

The consequences of this presupposition are manifold. A "compulsory freedom"[208] mandates Christian education and worship in schools, and if this violates the conscience of the parents, they are expected to seek the withdrawal of their children. But together with their compulsory character of religious instruction and worship we find evidences of parental apathy and of meaningless formalism in the schools. Although denominational doctrine is excluded from schools, students should achieve "membership in a worshipping community." It is one thing to see to it that students know their Judaic-Christian heritage, quite another to promote commitment to a particular faith. Non-believing teachers are not to be discriminated against, but insincerity and hypocrisy is found in their ranks. Although "the conscience clause is at the teachers' disposal, . . . it is most inexpedient for the primary teacher to take advantage of it."[209] Although the kind of criticism of orthodox belief found in the Bishop of Woolwich's Honest to God and the Cambridge Divinity Faculty's Objections to Christian Belief--criticisms within the mainstream of English church life--are commonly referred to in religious education, humanist and other than mainline Christian forms of religious belief are less commonly encountered. The freedom of parents to send their children to the school of their choice is supported by public subsidy, but it is not clear that the freedom of the learner to come critically to grips with his own determination of his beliefs and values is effectively provided for.

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[208] Daily Telegraph, January 3, 1957, p. 32.

[209] Dewar, p. 167.

These tensions involved in English policy are not noted in an effort to make a sweeping criticism of English efforts to balance freedom of thought with the preservation of Christian belief. However, they do serve to alert Americans to differences in the context of the meaning of religious freedom and to the view that the English approach is a suitable model for problems that confront American policy.

Although we are already dealing with some of the consequences of English policy for the meaning of religious freedom, we are concerned in the third question with some of the other consequences of English policy that portend certain outcomes in American life if we are to adopt English policy as our paradigm.

We have in mind here the lesson that Americans might learn from the way in which religious differences and controversies in England have been woven into the fabric of political and social life. We have seen that the history of English education is replete with the conflict of religious interests and that religious differences and controversies were interwoven in the political and social system of the country. The extension of educational opportunity was dependent upon a religious settlement. In large part the 1944 Act represents a compromise between Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and the Free Churches. Furthermore, the revisions entailed in the 1959 Act reveal the skillful appraisal of the political strength of church interests and the adroit use of techniques of persuasion and pressure in the interest of particular church groups. Although a democratic society is one in which interests should freely interact in the pursuit of common policy, it might be well for Americans to consider whether they want to encourage the kind of political action represented by certain church leaders in the 1959 Parliamentary negotiations.

We have also seen that there is much dissatisfaction in England with the agreed syllabus approach and its outcomes. If our interpretations are at all correct, there are rising voices both within the denominations and without which find neither corporate worship nor Christian instruction producing desirable outcomes. Dissatisfaction with Cowper-Temple-ism is expressed not only by Roman Catholics but by Anglicans and influential representatives of the Free Churches. From the point of view of many educators the settlement of 1944, including the solution provided by the agreed syllabuses, is seen as a denominational compromise rather than an educational solution. Despite ecumenical movements, differences between major religious groups find expression in the struggle for financial support. Since it is questioned in England whether the 1944 agreement could again be achieved today Americans might be expected to be somewhat cautious about their enthusiasm for a common doctrinal Christianity in the public schools.

Although Americans can profit from considering the difficulties encountered in England, they can also learn from the strengths of English policy and its applications. Without attempting any balance sheet between negative and positive factors, and refraining from any effort to suggest a program derived from British experience, we can suggest some directions suggested by the substantial achievements of British policy.

Although the evidences are somewhat equivocal, Americans could profitably attend to some English achievements in the art of compromise.

While this matter merits much more thorough study if Americans are to understand their own situation in the light of experiences of another nation particularly at the level of public policy, we can sense that very considerable achievements in English education since 1944 are the result of diligent efforts to overcome the effects of earlier intransigencies. What is meant by "compromise" demands clarification and refinement. Presumably it is far more than a common stereotype of muddling through. Nor is it a matter of giving up one's principles. It appears to involve a persistent and carefully negotiated search for the basis of what people can do together in the achievement of some, but not all, of their values, with the minimum of distortion and surrender of their ideals and commitments.

English achievement of a compromise in this sense of the term in the church-school area in 1944 enabled constructive steps to be taken in the development of their schools. These achievements may in turn promote an eventual return of the church-school problems to the arena of compromise at a more advanced level of policy development. We might learn from their experience, not by adopting English policy as a model for our own, but by considering the processes, including liabilities as well as assets, by which a determinate and positive policy was forged.

At least a few steps have been taken to identify these ingredients in the present study although further inquiry should search out more fully and carefully the full range of considerations. For example, we have noted the significant role of negotiation and informed leadership both by government and by participating interests in the achievement of a policy with which all can live for at least an extended period of time.

The English example of statesmanship in this matter in the years following the war should teach us something about responsible utterances and the democratic development of social policy.

The value of reports by deliberative bodies assessing the directions of desirable policy in the context of contemporary conditions, exemplified by the Reports of Educational Commissions of the Ministry of Education has been noted. This does not mean that there is no dissatisfaction expressed in England with what is considered to be the inadequate scientific background of the work of Advisory Committees.[210] But, as the extensive materials of the Robbins Report indicate, this deficiency is not irremediable and does not recommend the rejection of this aspect of policy formation. Furthermore, planned efforts to cultivate an enlightened public opinion are a significant aspect of British achievements. The policy whereby Local Authorities acting under the directives of the Ministry set up Standing Advisory Councils to investigate and develop practical agreements and arrangements brings various interests in the community to bear upon significant aspects of educational planning. To bring basic differences to the conference table where an adequate regard for the values of opposing interests can be developed is to take one of the steps toward greater toleration and understanding of conflicting points of view on matters of educational policy. To take a page from English experience in this regard might reduce the kind of political use of religious differences, fears, and intolerances sometimes reported in the press in this country. For example, as these words are written, it is reported that a candidate for national office has charged that "enemies of religion" are attempting to reinterpret the constitutional doctrine of church and state to mean establishment of atheism as the official religious position of the government. It seems clear that this kind of talk is not conducive to the responsible development of policy in this country.

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[210] C. H. Dobinson, Schooling 1963-1970 (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, 1963), pp. 20-29.

Efforts in England to have questions about religious education dealt with in terms of educational values and principles rather than exclusively those of a political or sectarian religious nature suggest an appropriate movement in this direction in the United States. The English have not excluded the interests of specialists in the various areas of study in religion, including the educational contribution of those educated as clergy. However, they have shown that these specialists may well deal with problems of policy in the teaching of religion being guided by educational rather than denominational principles. This suggests that a new dimension in the education of teachers in the United States might well be entertained as a step toward a more considered solution of our problems. The study of the philosophy of religion and of an educational philosophy attuned to the policy problems of American education would offer a greater background of wisdom in helping teachers and other leaders of community life to come to grips with problems of handling religious questions.

Furthermore, English experience reveals a way in which they have conceived and in some measure achieved a relationship between diversity and unity in the function of education. This matter also merits fuller study which might lead to applications in the American situation. Apart from the structure of English education, such as the balance between the Ministry and the Local Authorities, there is the matter of seeking a substantive balance in the life of a culture between that which pulls people apart and that which unites them in their commitments. One may find that the particular policies of a nation are inappropriate as a model for another and yet find that policies meshing diversities with unity are of considerable worth for other societies. Sir Ernest Barker has said the English have "learned from the religious experience of their national life, that it was possible to be united and divided at one and the same time."[211] In no small measure this has been exemplified in, and perhaps considerably achieved through, their efforts in education.

One senses that the experiences of the war years together with the dissolution of the Empire and the challenges to at least the older forms of the establishment have led to efforts to achieve a new sense of unity in a quest for national significance. One hears rumblings of an effort to become the equivalent of a new Switzerland in Europe. In the confusion of efforts to attain a new orientation to world affairs the conception of a unified people takes on new meaning. The unifying factors in a national system of education are drawn into the center of national effort. If Americans were to look at British policy in such a perspective, they might discover much of what is hidden from their view of their own situation. What is frequently obscured in the American self-image is the concerted effort to find a more enduring unity that derives from our historic roots and moves toward the fulfillment of the creative potentials of our form of a free society. Although we may not be able to turn in our quest for unity in the direction taken by other peoples, yet we could profit from the experiences and efforts in which they engage.

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[211] Sir Ernest Barker, Britain and the British People (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 96.

Closely related to the matters already mentioned is the observation that freedom in English policy is given a positive meaning. It has been understood to open the door to what should be done in the public school rather than to indicate what should be prohibited from entering there. English policy not only enables but facilitates in large measure the parents' choice of a school appropriate for their children. It provides a way for the state-controlled school to study the religious aspects of their national life. In contrast, in America we have been so caught up with the problems of the nurture of freedom in the midst of diversity that we have underestimated the values carried by a knowledge of religious life and by commitment to something more than immediate practical and material gains.

While it cannot be our business in this report to spell out the sense in which a more positive meaning of religious freedom might be developed appropriate to American traditions, it may be noted that the lack of a more positive sense of freedom tends to choke off the development of a fuller religious growth in the student's life. This by no means subscribes to the charge that American schools promote an anti-religious doctrine of secularism by omitting the study of religion. Nor does it accept the stance of those who reason that "if you're not with us, you must be against us." It does mean that it may well be time for an affluent America to seek a more positive conception of religious freedom. We need to cultivate what we are free to engage in as well as to clarify our freedom from various restrictive conditions.

However, conceptions of freedom which provide that the door to a particular profession of faith should be freely open to all and conceptions which involve paying the costs of schools devoted in their distinctive raison d'être to perpetuation of a particular faith are two different things. British policy affirms that the function of the state includes the responsibility of subsidizing the improvement of existing church schools and paying their operating costs and appears to move in the direction of providing what approaches total financial support for new church schools. This policy, if pursued to its logical conclusion, including the generalization of the principle of distributive justice, leads to the total support of all denominational schools. Hence, it encounters the consequences of policies in such countries as The Netherlands, and particularly the problems of equality of treatment of religious groups and of groups which prefer either no religious faith at all or some deviation from mainline churches and theologies. It appears that when the state gets into the business of subsidizing the citizen's religious choice in this sense, it becomes the arbitrator of religious beliefs and thought in a sense which Americans, surveying mankind's total experience with this role of the state, have rejected.

We have also seen that teaching a common doctrinal Christianity in state-controlled schools involves in England such distinctions between churches that some are not accorded the equality of others. It appears that the positive contribution of the American school to religious freedom should develop from considerations of freedom and equality more appropriate to the diversity of American faiths and the desirability of compatible and mutually supporting conceptions of freedom and equality.

These considerations also suggest, following a certain aspect of English experience, that the school's attention to religious aspects of the education of the young should be studied as an educational problem rather than ignored on the one hand, or, on the other, reduced to a power struggle between organized religious interests.

In the main the greatest value of English policy and experience for Americans consists in the detailed development of a positive policy which has been studied and appraised in terms of its applications and consequences. Americans could profit from studying: the materials involved in the agreed syllabus approach, the accounts of the influences brought to bear upon the determination of policy, the efforts of voluntary associations of many kinds to contribute to a national purpose, and the studies that have been made of the student's responses to the school's efforts in religious education. Although English policy and the practices developed from it, in their totality, are not desirably applicable to American conditions or appropriate for the fulfillment of educational values in the United States, there are many aspects of English experience which provide significant clues for the development of American policy.

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CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL POLICY CONCERNING RELIGION AND SCHOOLING IN THE NETHERLANDS

INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands is frequently referred to as an example of a staunchly democratic country which provides full financial support for denominational schools. Although other countries completely subsidize church schools, it is considered a most appropriate example for the consideration of a more equitable policy in the United States. In Scotland the dominance of Presbyterianism and in Ireland the dominance of Catholicism have produced settlements which, while in keeping with their historical conditions, are less appropriate to the religious pluralism of the United States. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, religious pluralism and religious freedom have gone hand in hand with full financial support of church schools as well as of schools which are religiously neutral. It is frequently argued that countries which have not achieved this full material freedom for education under the control of the church, or which have arranged only for partial support of denominational schools, should seek the equalization epitomized in the Netherlands. In this chapter we seek to understand the policy of the Netherlands and to explore in what sense America might profit from the experience of this cosmopolitan and fascinating people.

A suitable introduction to what follows in this report may be provided by considering the advice offered to the author by a highly qualified scholar of this matter in the Netherlands. It went something like this: A visitor should expect considerable difficulty in understanding adequately and in any depth the situation in the Netherlands today. It is not only that the subject involves sensing the unique experience of the Dutch people, the study of education in cultural perspective, and the problems of intercultural study. The situation is additionally complex because of the relations between educational policy and the political and power structure in the Netherlands. Things are not always what they seem. Much of the more subtle working of the educational situation is not revealed by the written word but calls for penetration into the idiosyncratic experience of members of the culture. Furthermore, so much is taken for granted by a citizen that his expressions may not provide a common meaning about the Dutch experience. One should be alert to the qualifications that are needed to avoid misinterpretation of what he hears and sees and reads.

This advice is reproduced here in order to alert the reader both to the problems of the investigator and to the reader's need to tolerate qualifications which may not be repeatedly indicated in the report. The reader is asked to carry an awareness of the complexity of the situation. Although the study may not capture the full meanings available to a participating member of the culture, it seeks to reveal objectively some of the basic ingredients of Dutch experience.

In studying the policy of the Netherlands it is of particular importance to have in mind the conditions pertaining to this kind of inquiry which were suggested in the first chapter of this report. Among these conditions some pertain to the categories used in understanding a nation's system of schooling. Not only is there a wide variety of schools in the Netherlands, but distinctions are made between various aspects of what Americans know as "education." For instance, in the Netherlands "upbringing" is distinguished from "education," the former relating to the entire process of bringing up the young, a process whose control rests primarily with the family. "Onderwijs," as distinct from "opvoeding" (upbringing) refers to the instructional aspects of education, that for which the school is primarily responsible. Although these are distinguished, they are not separated. The school bears certain responsibilities for upbringing. Upbringing includes education. The difference between them is not identical with what Americans refer to as "formal" and "informal" educational influences, although there are certain similarities. Upbringing refers more particularly to the character molding processes and ingredients at work in the circle of one's family. There is a sense of responsibility associated with its meaning which is lacking in the American meaning of "informal" educational processes.

Not only are there a number of other distinctions which we shall need to note as the interpretation develops, but the study is also faced with what might be called the changing character of the organization, and to some extent the substance, of education, particularly secondary schooling in this period. Secondary education, called in the Netherlands "continued education" has grown up under a variety of conditions and enactments and is currently in the process of being reorganized into an inclusive national pattern.

STATUTORY PROVISIONS

The Law of February 14, 1963 for regulating continued education, generally referred to as the Mammoth Law,[1] outlined a set of changes long felt to be desirable by various Ministers of Education and other educational and political leaders. It is part of an effort to divide the educational system into four groups: infants' education (age 4-6 plus), primary education (6 plus to 12 plus), continued education (12 plus onwards), and scientific (university) education. Various enactments have already dealt with infant, primary, and university education. The Mammoth Law is an effort to synthesize earlier legislation about secondary education and to extend educational opportunity at the secondary level to more students who will not go on to the university. Although in this study we are not concerned with the full complexities of the Mammoth Law, we must be attentive to its general purpose and to the situation which it was designed to improve.

In general, the Bill is an effort to consolidate a number of different legislations and types of schools into a "balanced whole of educational provisions."[2] Continued (i.e., secondary) education in the Netherlands had grown up without coordination. In various periods different kinds of schools had been developed. There had been little synthesis; the elements worked separately, each in its own province, and sometimes the various parts worked against each other. The Bill seeks to create a systematic order in the diversity of Dutch secondary schools. It continues the constitutional provisions for education and preserves the tradition of cultural, and especially religious, pluralism but in an effort to organize schooling into a whole that is more than individually operating parts.

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[1] Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences, From the Family by Way of Education Towards Society: Bill for Regulating Continued Education (The Hague: Press and Publicity Department, 1960) (chart and five pages in English).

[2] Ministry of Education, p. 2.

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Secondary education in the Netherlands is divided, in general, into three types: pre-university, general continued, and vocational although there are also comprehensive schools and other special purpose schools. The gymnasium (grammar school) and lyceum provide preparation for the universities and technical universities. These schools offer six-year courses in two sides or streams, one centering in the classical humanities and languages, the other, in mathematics and natural sciences. To these the 1963 Act adds the atheneum, which is to provide a more modern common course of study with special attention in higher forms or classes to economics and social studies on the one side and to mathematics and the natural sciences on the other. The first year at these schools is to be a transitional year so that students may be placed in the most appropriate preparatory program. In the Netherlands these schools are of high status value; particularly the classical side of the gymnasium is regarded as the epitome of status. The curriculum and the teaching in these schools are dominated by the interests and the disciplines of the universities.

At a somewhat different level, especially in its historical development, is the present "hogereburgerschool" offering general continued education of two types, one with a literary-economic tendency, the other stressing the sciences. It prepares nowadays for professions or vocations that need appreciable extended schooling at universities or institutes of higher learning. The HBS generally offers a five-year general course, the leaving certificate providing for entry to a higher vocational school. According to the 1963 Bill, the HBS is to be replaced by a school, sometimes referred to as a "modern grammar school," offering a five-year course in "higher general continued education." Its first year is to offer the same subjects as the pre-university schools, thus providing for a transitional year.

In addition to these schools there are commercial day and evening schools and secondary schools for girls.

The 1963 Bill also seeks to replace the present school for advanced primary education with "secondary general continued education." This is a school providing entry to vocational schools as well as to working positions which do not require further schooling. It offers a three- or four-year course. Its four-year course provides entry to the teachers' training colleges for primary school teachers. General continued education is offered not only in a "higher" and in a "secondary" school but there is also "elementary general continued education" which leads more directly into vocational education at levels which demand less academic study.

In general, vocational education in the Netherlands is highly differentiated and is commonly recognized as a well developed branch of Dutch education. In home economics, agricultural education, education for trade and commerce, for industry, fisheries, transport, service occupations and the like, schools in the Netherlands are carefully and thoroughly at work providing a basis for the hard working Dutch economy.

The 1963 Bill endeavors to bring order into these types and levels of secondary education, to direct the selective process involved, to establish a planning procedure for creating schools, to work out financing regulations and the like. In general, it seeks to avoid leaving to chance what may be regulated by enactment, and through comprehensive educational enactment it seeks to leave as little as possible to general administrative orders or directives. It may be viewed as a manifestation of a pervasive tendency in the Netherlands to order and organize things so that they run effectively and by lawfully established means. Although much of what is involved in the reorganization of secondary education awaits continued study and conference before it is put into practice, the bill enacts changes which will be in line with traditional values that are highly cherished.

The character of these values, which focus directly upon policies concerning religion and schooling, is seen in the section of the Constitution dealing with education. We quote the entire Article.

> Education shall be an object of constant solicitude on the part of the government.
>
> The imparting of education shall be free, saving superintendence by the authorities, and moreover, in so far as general education, primary as well as secondary, is concerned, saving the examination with regard to the ability and morality of the teacher, the whole to be regulated by law.
>
> Public education shall be regulated by law, every person's religious views being duly respected.
>
> In each municipality the authorities shall impart sufficient public general primary education in an adequate number of schools. According to the rules to be laid down by law, deviation from this provision may be permitted, provided that opportunity is given for such education to be received.

> The standards of efficiency to be prescribed for education to be defrayed wholly or in part from public funds shall be regulated by law, with due observance in so far as private education is concerned, of freedom of direction.
>
> These standards shall be regulated for general primary education in such a manner as to guarantee equally well the efficiency of the private education defrayed entirely from public funds and public education. In these regulations the freedom of private education concerning the choice of means of instruction and the appointment of teachers shall, particularly be respected.
>
> Private general primary education fulfilling conditions to be imposed by law shall be defrayed from public funds according to the same standards as public education. The conditions upon which private general secondary education and preparatory university education shall be granted contributions from public funds shall be fixed by law.
>
> The King shall cause a report on the condition of education to be made annually to the States-General.[3]

The Constitution was initially accepted in 1848, and has been amended in certain respects some seven times since. The revision of 1917 established the present article providing for the support of private as well as public primary education from public revenues.

The Constitution established the government's constant concern and care for education. This means that the Ministry in cooperation with the Municipal Councils should take care to nurture schools whether established by public or by private agencies. The authorities must make provisions so that the preference of the parents as to the spiritual or religious way of life of their children shall be supported financially and so that schools whether public or private should be of an appropriately equal quality. Public education is fully regulated by law, but government has a different role in regard to private education. Here the Ministry is responsible for seeing that it is effective and of good quality in order to be subsidized, but its direction as interpreted by its basic values, whether of a religious or educational nature, is left to the determination of the group sponsoring the school. The Ministry exercises very extensive direction in public schools, but for the private sector it keeps "only a watchful eye on the observance of the conditions governing the subsidy and abstains from any direct interference."[4] In later sections we shall be concerned with some of the problems involved in these provisions.

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[3] The Constitution, Ch. 12, Article 208.

In infant education about 80 percent of schools are private; in primary or elementary education about 70 percent are private; in secondary and preparatory higher education over 60 percent are private; in vocational education more than 90 percent of the schools are private; four out of eleven universities and technical universities are private[5]

Private education in the Netherlands consists of Roman Catholic, Protestant, and non-denominational or neutral schools. Protestant schools are founded and controlled by private organizations of a religious character; Roman Catholic schools are, of course, under the more direct influence of the church; neutral schools are established by associations which prefer no religious orientation in the schools.

The extent of state financial support of church schools is indicated by several examples. In Roman Catholic schools, for example, ecclesiastical authorities exercise the right of inspection of all subjects, and the cost of this inspection is paid from public funds. The cost of maintaining the Catholic Central Bureau, which is charged with the over-all care of Catholic education, is financed by payments from each Catholic school which are repaid in the state subsidy for Catholic Schools.[6] Since this Bureau works with the Catholic State Council, which speaks for Catholic interests in matters of national policy and legislation, and with Catholic Parents' Committees, which have among other functions that of propagandizing for Catholic schools, the state subsidizes at least indirectly the efforts of the Church to promote its educational views and interests.

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[4] Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences, Dutch School System (The Hague: Press and Publicity Department, 1960), p. 10.

[5] Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 9.

The conditions regulating the establishment of these schools at the primary level are different from those at the secondary level. The conditions were furthermore different for two kinds of primary education: ordinary primary education and complementary primary education, the latter now included within the regulations of the Mammoth Law for secondary education. Ordinary primary schools are six-year elementary schools. Complementary primary education provided for at least two more years and emphasized social subjects and manual skills. Primary schools are said to place their emphasis in the order, head-heart-hand; in complementary primary education the order was said to be hand-heart-head. The kind of schooling represented by complementary primary education may be found in independent schools or in sections or departments associated with ordinary primary schools.

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[6] Maurice Couve de Murville, "Aspects of the Dutch System of Education," Catholic Education: A Handbook, 1962-1963, Catholic Education Council for England and Wales, pp. 32-40.

An association wishing to found an ordinary primary school should show a minimum student enrollment dependent on the size of the town. Enrollments should number 125 for a town with more than 100,000 inhabitants, 100 in towns of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, 75 for towns of 25,000 to 50,000, and 50 for smaller municipalities. A somewhat similar minimal enrollment condition was set up for complementary primary education. When the required number of pupils is available, the applying organization automatically receives the cost of the building if it has raised 15 percent of the cost. This sum is repaid after the school has been in operation for a certain number of years. Special arrangements can be made in the case of smaller numbers of students.

Provisions for private secondary schools do not grant funds for schools automatically. The founding of a school must be included in a planning procedure of the Ministry and the state of the country's finances must be such that the cost can be included in the nation's resources for subsidization. We shall return to some problems in this regard in a later section of this report.

The provisions for elementary schools were enacted in the Primary Education Act of 1920, which, since it provided for equal support of private as well as public primary education, is spoken of as providing the "pacification" of the historic "school struggle."

In order to sense the significance of the division of primary education into public and private sectors and the latter into Protestant, Roman Catholic, and neutral school associations, we note some figures showing the percentage of ordinary and complementary primary schools for various years since 1920.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF ORDINARY AND COMPLEMENTARY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE NETHERLANDS*

Year	% Public Schools	% Private Schools	% Protestant	% R.C.	% Other
1921	56	44, of which	22	21	1
1936	38	62, of which	27	33	2
1946	35	65, of which	27	36	2
1959	32	68, of which	29	37	2

*Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 25.

Thus an increasing proportion of common schooling in the Netherlands has since 1920 been controlled as to its spiritual and religious direction by private societies and institutions.

In addition to the types of primary schools included in the above figures there are a number of specialized primary schools for handicapped children and for those who present unusual educational problems such as the children of barge-crews and those of itinerate workers. During 1959 of the children who attended specialized primary schools, about 30 percent attended public, 22 percent attended protestant, 41 percent attended Roman Catholic, and 7 percent attended "miscellaneous" specialized schools.[7]

In order to sense the extent of the divisions in secondary education we note some figures reporting the number of day schools for preparatory university and secondary education in September, 1960. The

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[7] Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 33.

Ministry reports a total of 447 schools enrolling a total of 170,253 students. They were distributed as to type of school as follows:

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF DAY SCHOOLS AND VARIOUS TYPES FOR PREPARATORY UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Type of School	Number of Schools
Gymnasium	82
Hogereburgerschool	150
Lyceum	162
Secondary School for Girls	39
Commercial Day School	14
Total	447

Of the total number, 169 were public schools; 53 run by central authorities and 116 by municipalities. These schools enrolled 60,371 students. Of the 447 schools, 84 were Protestant, 160 Roman Catholic, and 34 were other private, i.e., neutral, schools. They enrolled 109,882 students.[8] Thus, in 1960, of the total number of pupils, approximately 35 percent attended public schools, 22 percent attended Roman Catholic schools, and 7 percent attended neutral day schools.

Public and private schools pay the same salaries to teachers thus avoiding any competition between them in this respect. Further, the pupil-teacher ratio is the same in both types of schools. Teachers must have the same qualifications and satisfy the same moral standards. The curriculum of the schools, apart from religious instruction, must be shown to be of the same quality. State inspectors supervise schools of both types. In the event that the inspector is not satisfied that the curriculum comes up to the requirements of "adequate and regularly progressing"[9] instruction, the matter is decided by the Educational Council, a body of educational experts appointed by the Queen and thereby independent of the Ministry. Thus great care is taken that the general conditions of education--the buildings, the quality of instruction, the competence and good character of teachers, the salaries--are the same for both public and private schools.

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[8] Digest of Kingdom of Netherlands: Education, Arts and Sciences, no date but figures reported as of April, 1961, p. 23.

In summary, in the Netherlands the freedom of education, specifically laid down in the Constitution, is the central characteristics of national policy. Education is free in the sense that parents can choose that form of schooling which accords with their religious preference and this freedom is implemented by full financial support by the state. The basic principle upon which this policy is grounded is that the parents have the "natural right and duty"[10] to determine the schooling which is appropriate to the upbringing of their children. In this conception of freedom it is the state's responsibility to promote full material opportunity for the parents to exercise this choice. We shall return in later sections of this report to a consideration of this policy in its more concrete manifestations.

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[9] Digest of Kingdom of Netherlands, p. 8.

[10] Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 8.

Turning now to statutory provisions relating to the teaching of religion in public schools, the Primary Education Act of 1920 provides that the public schools are to be "open to all children irrespective of religious convictions or affiliations, although they respect all religious beliefs."[11] Furthermore, "the law expressly lays it down that the teachers shall abstain from teaching, doing or permitting anything that is contrary to the respect demanded by religious convictions." This means that the teaching of religion is done by special teachers of religion rather than by classroom teachers save as Biblical materials may be used incidentally as part of the teaching of language, reading, and history. Otherwise, religious instruction is provided in the timetable and in the classrooms but on an optional basis and is taught by members of church communities or societies or by teachers selected by the church community for this purpose. This instruction is given by a large number of primary schools, and apparently only a few parents exempt their children from it. It is given for the most part at the level of the fifth class and higher. In 1929, 60 percent of the public elementary schools provided this religious instruction; in 1954, 88 percent of these schools did so.[12] The largest part of this religious education is provided by the Netherlands Reformed Church.

The situation in regard to religious education at the secondary school level is more complicated. Not only are the changes in the organization of secondary education in the Mammoth Law involved, but enactments make provisions for different kinds of religious education. There are different provisions for public and for private schools and differences as to whether religious instruction is controlled by the church or by societies with a religious interest.[13]

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[11] Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 22.

[12] Philip G. Idenburg, Schets Van Het Nederlandse Schoolwezen (Outline of Dutch Education) (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1960), p. 594.

In the Netherlands a subject called "Knowledge of the Bible and Cultural History of Christian Religion" is, in law and in school practice, a cultural subject and may not be called "religious education." It is an optional subject in both public and private secondary schools. The selection of its teachers falls under the jurisdiction of the government or the school board, not under the control of the church. The government or school board is not obligated to provide this instruction. Those who are trained as ministers may be appointed to teach this subject, but if they do so, they speak as educators rather than as clergy. If the student becomes interested not only culturally but also spiritually in the subject, this interest is to be managed outside the school. Thus, knowledge of the Bible and of religion is marked off from religious instruction by the church or by religious societies. It is what Americans would recognize as "teaching about religion," and is found to a rather limited extent in the more metropolitan and industrial sections in the central part of the country.

Religious instruction, as distinct from this cultural subject, may be given in pre-university or in continued public secondary education where certain hours and facilities are provided free for teachers appointed by the church or by religious societies. Religious education in public schools is ecclesiastical; it stems from the church. It is an optional subject. It may be given by ministers; it may have the character of preaching; it may be catechetical. In 1929, 37 percent of public continued secondary schools offered religious education; in 1954, 65 percent did so.[14]

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[13] A discussion of the legal regulations for secondary schools is given in: D. N. van der Neut, "De Wettelijke Mogelijkheden" ("The Legal Possibilities"), Opdracht: Tijdschrift Voor Het Godsdienst Onderwijs (Magazine of Religious Education), II (December, 1954), pp. 69-75.

Other provisions regulate religious instruction in private schools. By enactment some subjects in them are obligatory, but in addition there are four hours a week that may be used for other purposes. Among these may be religious instruction. This is given in Protestant Christian schools under the auspices of school foundations composed of representatives of different churches--the Dutch Reformed Church, the Neo-Calvinistic Free Church, and some others. It works out so that in Protestant Christian schools, where some students are enrolled from families which are not particularly religious, the church reaches indirectly a number of non-religious or vaguely-religious families.

Thus a range of possibilities is provided for religious instruction and it may be provided in public schools by the church or by religious societies. The situation is a curious one. In the public school sector, religious education is managed by the Church. In the Protestant Christian sector catechetical religious education is provided by religious societies but not churches. In both public and private schools the study of the Bible and the cultural history of religion may be offered by specialists whose authority stems from educational rather than ecclesiastical sources. It is difficult to say how fully these distinctions provided in enactments are followed in practice, but one obtains the impression that there is much blurring of the lines depending on the situation and the person engaged in the teaching.

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[14] Idenburg, p. 128.

The subject, "Knowledge of the Bible and Cultural History of Christian Religion" is for our purposes of special interest. Since it provides for knowledge of the Bible as a cultural product and for an awareness of different interpretations of religion, it is more satisfactory to the more liberal religious insterests. Typically these are found within the less dogmatic and more inclusive outlook of the Netherlands Reformed Church as well as in humanist circles. Other groups take religious education and Bible history to be intrinsically instruction in religious doctrine. To "let the Bible speak for itself," that is, to regard it as a source for religious experience and insight appropriate to confronting the various problems of the modern world appeals to the more thoughtfully liberal components in Netherlands religious life. The specialists who are employed as teachers are drawn from this segment rather than from those representing a strict adherence to Calvinistic doctrine.

This is reflected in the materials provided for use in these classes. A textbook called _Seeking the Way in the Varied World of Belief and Thought_[15] presents the various religions of the world today and the historical development of Christian churches. It provides a factual description of the churches of the Netherlands, the number of members, the liturgy of the churches, the general characteristics of their beliefs. It also contains brief characterizations of the thought of great "seekers of the way" ranging from Augustine, Erasmus, Luther and Spinoza to Tolstoi, Neitzsche, Barth and Sartre.

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[15] B. van Gelder, _Spor Zoeken In De Bonte Wereld Van Geloven En Denken_ (Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff, 1960), 229 pp.

When one visits a class in Bible history and the cultural history of religion, he is impressed with the objective treatment of the subject and with the teacher's effort to cultivate a thoughtful understanding of a considerable range of religious experience. At the level of the first class of a municipal lyceum, instruction centered in giving information about the Psalms and in interpreting the meaning of the Psalms as an aspect of the religious life of a people. After informal discussion in which the teacher obtained expressions from the members of the class of their ways of perceiving the function of the psalmist, the teacher's summation of the main points of the lesson were taken down in the students' copy books. Although there was no evidence of group work or of any activity to supplement the rather academic and bookish character of the instruction, one could sense the effort to place talk about religion on a thoughtful and non-dogmatic basis.

COLUMNIZING

To understand policy about religion and schooling in the Netherlands one needs to see it in the light of some of the salient conditions of national life. We have already noted that the private sector of education is divided into Roman Catholic, Protestant Christian, and neutral schools and that statistical data on Dutch schools are reported in terms of these categories. If we are to understand the meaning of Dutch educational policy and particularly what it may mean for American problems, we need to see this division of Dutch schools in its cultural and historical setting. Since these conditions are enormously complex, an adequate treatment of them would involve extended cultural analysis. We can here do little more than suggest some of the conditions bearing on the nature of policy and then explore more fully three aspects of national life that are particularly crucial to our purposes. After suggesting some general characteristics of Dutch life, we shall want to look more fully into the phenomenon of "columns" or "pillars" as an aspect of the social structure of the Netherlands, the character of political parties in their relationship to religious groups and educational policies, and the historic school struggle leading to the pacification expressed in the Constitution of 1917 and the Primary Education Act of 1920.

The land is in fact the low country, large sections of it reclaimed from the sea, and the continued struggle against the waters of the sea and the rivers has influenced the way the people have gone about their affairs and thought of themselves as a people with a distinctive way of life. A visitor is frequently reminded of how the Dutch have literally made the land on which their culture rests and adapted their institutions to its conditions. Furthermore, the country is small, consisting of some 13,700 square miles, an area about equal to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Its population numbers more than 11.5 million. The density of population is 850 to the square mile as compared with 537 in the United Kingdom and 52 in the United States. The birthrate, about 180,000 in 1939, is now about 240,000 a year.[16] Moreover, the Netherlands is a highly developed country in the sense that agricultural, service, and industrial activities are highly refined and kept at a high level of efficiency. These conditions call for a pattern of national life that does not leave policies to chance. They demand a kind of control and common effort if the freedom so centrally treasured in Dutch life is to endure.

The Netherlands has in many ways and for a long period of time been at the crossroads of European and world affairs. Its geographic position, its tradition of world trade and commerce, the international activities centering at The Hague, and the dependence which limited resources impose upon an economy produce a cosmopolitan setting and a concern for affairs that lie beyond national boundaries. Historically, the tides of belief of the Roman Church, of Calvinism, and of the Enlightenment and of reactions to each of these have left their mark upon national policy. In various periods the Netherlands has been brought under the rule of other nations: the Spanish, the French, and the Germans, and cultural residue of these periods of foreign domination remain. These factors make for the development of policies that are responsive to historical influences and movements of thought and yet have the distinctive traits of Dutch experience.

It is of central importance to our purposes to recognize the diversity of Dutch life and culture. The Netherlands is far from a homogeneous society although there are forces which contribute to its unity. For one thing, the Dutch people do not derive from a single stock.

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[16] Ministry of Education, Dutch School System, p. 5.

Historically, they are composed of Frisians in the north, Saxons in the east, Franks in the south and a still more different group in the Zeeland islands of the southern delta. Further, profound cultural differences are found in close proximity. One has only to travel very limited distances to encounter very fundamental social and cultural differences. For example, within the city limits of Amsterdam one enters a different world and culture as he travels across the harbor and into the waterlands adjacent to the Zuiderzee. Here a historic pastoral life is found just a few miles from one of the major commercial and shipping centers of Europe.

This diversity is particularly noticeable in the variety of churches and religious societies in the Netherlands. Official statistics on religious affiliation report a list of some twenty denominations and in addition a number of smaller groups and sects. According to the census of 1947, about 38 percent of the population were Roman Catholics; about 31 percent were Netherland Reformed; about 10 percent were affiliated with the Neo-Calvinist Free Church (Gereformeerde) and smaller related groups; about 4 percent were members of smaller churches and sects; about 17 percent had no religious memberships. These figures have not changed appreciably in subsequent years. Historically, the main changes in the percentage of members of the religious groups are associated with the relative decline of Netherlands Reformed Church membership. In 1850 about 38 percent of the total population were Roman Catholic, 55 percent Netherlands Reformed, 1 percent Neo-Calvinist, 6 percent other, and none without religious identification. The membership of the Roman Catholic Church has thus remained relatively constant.[17]

These populations are not distributed evenly over the country. In general, Roman Catholics are predominant in the south; Protestants, in the north. The provinces of Limburg and North Brabant, in the south, are 94 and 89 percent Roman Catholic, respectively. Provinces in the extreme north have the largest proportions of Neo-Calvinist Free Church members, although Zeeland is 20 percent of this persuasion. The proportion of those without church membership is largest in the vicinity of Amsterdam. However, there is also a general distribution of all major church groups in all sections of the country.[18]

As one moves to a more detailed consideration of the characteristics of Netherland culture, a particular aspect of the social structure is, especially for our purposes, of focal importance. The Dutch term is "verzuiling," derived from the word "zuil" which means a column or pillar. It refers to a vertical pattern of social differentiation as distinct from the horizontal pattern of social classes or an oblique line of demarcation into caste or ethnic groups. Although there are marks of differentiation in the Netherlands in terms of socio-economic levels of well-being, position, or status, and some recognition of racial or ethnic origins, the outstanding pattern of social organization pertains to religious ideologies or "columns."

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[17] David O. Moberg, "Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America," American Quarterly, XII (Summer, 1961), p. 175.

[18] van Gelder, p. 69.

In the Netherlands the organization of social life is dominated by membership in and distinctions between Roman Catholic, Protestant Christian, and general or neutral associations. Not only do private schools fall into these categories, but the organizations and institutions of social life are marked off so that people of the same religious group interact with each other rather than with members of other religious ideologies. A pillar is a block of social organizations encompassing the entire range of group activity--church, school, employment, trade unions, professional and occupational organizations, stores, hospitals, sports and leisure time activities, newspapers, radio and television, political and civic activities--so that an individual may spend practically his whole life in contacts with members of his own religious group. His contacts with persons of other religious faiths are purely tertiary--they ride in the same trams, attend certain community celebrations, may have a few business and community contacts apart from organized religious demarcations, but basically the entire range of group life is organized on a denominational basis. The columns cut across practically all of the areas of group life so that "to each his own" in the sense of loyalty to members of his own religious orientation characterizes the entire range of institutions and associations.

This pattern of social differentiation has become so embedded in Dutch life that it is commonly taken for granted. Despite certain efforts, largely in the intellectual and higher cultural levels of the society, to break away from differentiation by columns, the pattern is so entrenched in the way of life of the people that its operation is seldom in the center of attention. Despite the pervasive character of this pattern of social organization and control, there is remarkably little study of it. Most of the articles that deal with it point out the paucity of research into the matter.

One study, in English, by a refugee from Czechoslovakia, describes the social structure and culture of a Dutch community.[19] This sociological study provides a wealth of descriptive information about Sassenheim, a community of 7,470 inhabitants (1947) midway between Amsterdam and The Hague and just a few miles from the well-known park and display garden, Keukenhof. We can here only sample the picture presented in this detailed study of Dutch life. The study reveals that the community of Sassenheim is split up into more than five religious communities—the Roman Catholic Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist Church (Gereformeerde Kerken), the Christian Calvinist Church (Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerk), a group of free-thinking Protestants belonging to various unorthodox denominations (Protestanten-bond)--and a group without denomination consisting of about 2.4 percent of the population.

"The Roman Catholic Church is undoubtedly the largest and most influential organization in the community. In the latest directory no less than forty-four different clubs, committees, and associations of the Roman Catholics are mentioned."[20] In addition to committees more directly associated with the worshipping life of the church, there are: the school board, the youth organizations of the Church, the Roman

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[19] I. Gadourek, _A Dutch Community: Social and Cultural Structure and Process in a Bulb-Growing Region in the Netherlands_ (Leiden: H. E. Stenfert Kroese, 1956), 555 pp.

[20] Gadourek, p. 82.

Catholic Theatre Club, the Roman Catholic Sport Association, the Roman Catholic Athletic Association, the girl scout group, the Roman Catholic Workers Movement, a Roman Catholic Middle-Class Association, two religious educational and nursing orders, two retreat groups, a Sunday afternoon Club, a group which organizes pilgrimages, the Catholic People's Party, the Roman Catholic organization of laborers, an association of farmers and gardeners, an employer's association, Roman Catholic Family Care, a Roman Catholic Children's Colony Association, a Roman Catholic Burial Association, and a Roman Catholic Travel Association.

The Protestant churches also control a number of subgroups cutting across a wide range of public life. In addition to political parties, which we shall treat in a later section, there are trade and employment associations such as a Protestant Christian Trade Union, the Protestant Association of Employers, and a Middle-Class Association. The Calvinist Church and the Dutch Reformed Church have their separate school boards. In some sectors of public life the Protestant churches coordinate their policies in common Christian organizations. There is a Protestant public library, a Protestant kindergarten, a Protestant Music Club, a Protestant hospital association, a Protestant nursing association, and a Green Cross functioning side by side with a Roman Catholic White and Yellow Cross and a neutral Red Cross.

"Most churches urge their young members only to marry persons of the same denomination. This pressure is somewhat less if it concerns the relationship between the members of the akin Protestant churches."[21]

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[21] Gadourek, p. 93.

Although it is particularly strong in the Roman Catholic group, most churches are opposed to a weakening of belief or a loosening of ties. The Dutch Reformed and other "modernist" churches rely more heavily on the inner sense of identity rather than on explicit public forms of control. In most sport associations and clubs "the people of other denominations are not only unwelcome but often openly refused membership . . . . Tennis and dancing parties are stringly denominational affairs."[22]

The study by Gadourek included the use of a questionnaire in which an item was modelled on Bogardus' and Dodd's social distance scale. "Do you object to your children or brothers and sisters: (a) being married to; (b) being acquainted by friendship; (c) working with a person of different religious denomination?" The study reports that 81.9 percent opposed interdenominational marriage; 40.6 percent objected to mixed friendship; 11.4 percent opposed working with people of other faiths; 15.8 percent accepted all three forms of contact. "Church affiliation divides the whole community into distinct, separate, social segments,"[23] the Roman Catholic group avoiding inter-faith contacts the most, the Calvinists approaching them in this respect. The Dutch Reformed, the minor churches, and the unchurched hold greater tolerance for people of different religious views.

In speaking of the schools and cultural institutions of Sassenheim, Gadourek's study observes that the function of cultural integration is not observed but that institutions help to divide the population into distinct denominational groups.

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[22] Gadourek, p. 95.

[23] Gadourek, p. 112.

> The differentiation sets in at a very early age. In the kindergartens, for instance, children learn to choose their friends from the Roman Catholic or the Protestant milieu; the songs they sing, the verses they learn, differ in both groups. The differences are accentuated in the system of elementary education. A considerable time is spent on religious teaching in each grade. The classes on religion as well as "singing" (consisting of singing psalms and religious hymns) foster the denominational differences that are not counterbalanced by an exhortation to national unity in other classes. In the courses of the "Dutch Language" stress is laid more on the lessons in grammar than on the stimulation of a consciousness of national cultural inheritance and unity. An insignificant part of the curriculum is spent on teaching Dutch History. . . . In these short lessons, the pupils are not taught to interpret history from a common national standpoint but rather from the standpoint of their own denominational group. Even a superficial analysis of the textbooks reveals the conflict of values that is rooted in the different interpretations of the history.[24]

In an appendix Gadourek reports the evidences gathered from his inspection of the history textbooks used in the various elementary schools of Sassenheim.

Paragraphs were selected from the texts used in the Roman Catholic, the Calvinist, and the Dutch Reformed schools. The paragraphs deal with one of the most important periods in the origin of the Netherlands as a nation. On the Reformation:

The Roman Catholic text:

> In 1517, Luther in Germany started the revolt against the Pope. He rejected the Priesthood, the Confession, the Holy Mass, etc. His followers were the Lutherans. In our country, the Protestants were mostly the followers of Calvin who broke with the Holy Church in Geneva.

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[24] Gadourek, p. 209.

The Calvinist text:

On the 31st of October, in a peaceful small town of Wittenburg in Germany, a simple monk nailed a paper on a churchdoor. It contained a long list of 95 articles summing up the shortcomings and lies of the Papist Church.

. . . .

People did not trust the priests any more. The simply and holy truth was completely buried under various human inventions of the priests.

. . . .

Martin Luther was destined to become God's Servant.

The Dutch Reformed text:

Wealth and riches have done no good to the Church, in the long run. In the course of the 14th and 15th centuries reversed conditions arose that brought about the decadence of the Church. Many bishops and abbots began to meddle more and more in political affairs and abandoned Church-affairs. They thought themselves sovereigns in the first place. Even in the cloisters, the situation deteriorated. Many monks led a life that was not in agreement with their assumed reputation.

. . . .

Martin Luther wrote down a number of objections he raised against the Catholic Church. He made an appeal to what was the teaching of the Bible according to his view.

On Philip II:

The Roman Catholic text:

Philip II was a religious sovereign. To him the Catholic cause was beyond anything else. In those days, the aspotasy was generally considered as a crime and had to be punished. Very many sovereigns did not bother about it too much. But Philip did. He was not too popular in the Netherlands. He was a proud Spaniard, and did not feel at home in the Netherlands.

The Calvinist text:

Philip did not like the Dutchmen and the Dutchmen did not like him. He was a typical Spaniard: proud, ambitious, unfriendly, and a merciless persecutor of heretics. People understood quite well why the Spanish soldiers received orders to stay here. It was to wipe out heresy from the country, to rob the Dutchmen of their freedom, in the long run.

The Dutch Reformed text:

Philip II was by far not such a clever sovereign as his father. He was a typical Spaniard, and had nothing in common with the Dutchmen. He could not even understand their language. The purpose of his rule is as follows: the extirpation of the reformed religion in the Netherlands. Everybody had to be a Catholic!

On the Inquisition:

The Roman Catholic text:

This was a tribunal of the Church. Its members were wise and pious bishops and priests.

The Calvinist text:

Each day, now here then there, especially in the Southern Netherlands, innocent people were tortured and murdered. The inquisition was merciless. . . .

The Dutch Reformed text:

Everybody hated the Inquisition. William of Orange, while still being a Catholic, hated it too, together with many other Catholics . . . .

On Granvelle:

The Roman Catholic text:

Granvelle became archbishop of Mechelen, and received the title of a Cardinal. Only learned and decept persons could become bishops. This was a very wise deed of the Pope and of Philip. Granvelle was born in Burgundy and was, therefore, considered as a stranger. The Dutch noblemen forced him to leave the country, in the long run. He was a clever politician who was a good match for Orange.

The Calvinist text:

Granvelle, the wicked councellor of the Duches of Parma, departed. The king recalled him. He left, but in his heart he thought: "For this Orange is to blame; I shall pay him back!" The Prince of Orange was glad that all turned out to be a success: the land was redeemed from a man who was hated by all people.

The Dutch Reformed text:

Cardinal Granvelle exercised much influence on Margaret of Parma. He was a loyal servant of the king, and a persecutor of Protestants. He was the chief of the Camarilla. This Camarilla was the one body that Margaret consulted. The other noblemen who were members of the Camarilla (Orange, Egmond, and Hoorn) had less influence. No wonder that they began to hate Granvelle. They succeeded in having Granvelle recalled to Spain by Philip, in the end.

Thus the books used in the schools of the denominations interpret historic events in terms of the values of the particular religious groups at the expense of the values of an integrated national culture.[25]

The bearing of the establishment of denominational schools on the maintenance of a public school in Sassenheim is an interesting story. Following the settlement of the "school struggle" by the adoption of

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[25] It should also be reported, quite apart from Gadourek's study, that an objective history jointly written by a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, and a Jew is widely used in Roman Catholic, Protestant, and neutral schools as well as in public schools.

Article 208 of the Constitution in 1917 and the Primary Education Law of 1920, the public school in Sassenheim had no chance to survive and was abolished in the early 1920s. Since, according to law, the amount of subsidy provided private schools is based on their number of pupils, the existence of a public school was in direct competition with the denominational schools.

More recently a local neutral group petitioned the Community Council for the establishment of a public school. The petition was sponsored by a local socialist group of more recent immigrants which was a small minority and was represented by only one of the thirteen seats in the Community Council. Its petition, however, was signed by other influential townspeople, some belonging to the more liberal Protestant church and others without denominational affiliation. The petition was repeatedly outvoted in the Council since the denominational interests were united in opposing an action which would diminish the subsidies granted to their schools. However, although the Council could delay the petition for the public school, it could not prevent the founding of a neutral school when the group has fulfilled the legal requirements which we have earlier noted. Although a footnote in Gadourek's study points to this outcome as evidence of the protection of minority rights in this freedom-loving country, we note that the effect of columnization is to force those who do not find a place within existing columns to form a neutral column to secure their own interests.[26]

Although Gadourek's study of a Dutch community reveals the centrality of columns in Netherlands' social structure, research on the matter is not extensive. This is repeatedly observed in existing studies. In 1956 a special issue of Sociological Guide contained four articles dealing with columns. One of these[27] in discussing the process of forming columns suggested that socialism was the first movement that gave rise to a column since it involved a range of organizations such as: political party, labor union, youth movement, adult education, radio, sports clubs, vocational centers, press, scientific research, and the like. Later on, especially after the last war, the socialist column disintegrated and became less rigid in ideology. It sought to include more people of other persuasions who could unite on the level of political organization. Consequently, the socialist column became weaker.

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[26] Gadourek, pp. 212-215.

Other writers do not agree with this placing of the socialist movement as a condition giving rise to pillarization, although they agree that the third, i.e., the general or neutral, column has a different character from the Protestant and Roman Catholic columns. In a subsequent issue of the Sociological Guide, Schöffer[28] held that socialist organizations were quite different from columns and that the "neutral" column was formed later as a reaction to the religious character of the others. Furthermore, he was concerned with how columns developed in the Netherlands and not elsewhere.

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[27] J. A. A. van Doorn, "Verzuiling: een eigentijds systeem van sociale controle" ("Columns: A Present System of Social Control"), Sociologische Gids, III (March-April, 1956), pp. 41-49.

[28] D. I. Schöffer, "Verzuiling, een specifiek Nederlands probleem" ("Columns, a Specifically Dutch Problem"), Sociologische Gids, III (July, 1956), pp. 121-127.

Schöffer offered seven tentative hypotheses to account for the appearance of columns as a uniquely Dutch phenomenon. (1) A tradition of particularism (regional autonomy and diversity of authority) in the Old Republic (before 1795) and a continuing spirit of federalism in later periods, in contrast with French centralism, left room for the development of columns. (2) The tradition of protestant individualism and Calvinistic ethics emphasized the primacy of the family. It affirmed the sovereignty of the primary group indicated in such expressions as: "My home is my castle" and "Each must take care of his own." (3) Calvinism encouraged typically a dogmatic attitude with rigorous moral codes of behavior, and this attitude is also shared by Dutch Roman Catholics. (4) Historically, Protestant and Roman Catholic groups, composed of "little people," were discriminated against by the middle class of the province of Holland, and were emancipated largely under the leadership of priest and minister. (5) The industrial revolution was late in the Netherlands and the movement of people away from the church was not experienced. The churches achieved a social conscience in time to hold the big majority of Protestant and Roman Catholic laborers from the appeal of socialism. (6) The comparative isolation of Roman Catholics below the great rivers and of Protestants in other provinces tended to make columnizing easy. (7) The two religious groups stimulated each other to build strong organizations and yet to form a coalition against liberal and socialistic movements, first in the school struggle and later in other problems of social policy. Schöffer indicates the need for more careful research concerning the continuance of columns in modern times.

In an article appearing in 1957 Verwey-Jonker stresses the view that the columns are not, except for the Roman Catholic one, monolithic structures.[29] They are, rather, built up of bits and pieces that run more or less into each other. She suggests that it might be better to speak less of columns and more of a thicket of little trees that are tangled up together. Involved in this thicket are choices as to denomination, political party, and type of school. In trying to find out what percentage of the Dutch people belongs to each of the columns she finds it very difficult to obtain numbers yielding comparable statistical data. There is no adequate index for no column contains a complete cross-section of the Dutch people; one cannot find a criterion that applies to all Dutchmen and gives an indication about the column to which they belong. Probably the best index concerns the numbers of children in various primary schools for all parents have to make a choice of this point. Even this index has to be corrected because, for example, Roman Catholic families have more children than families without religious affiliation.

After a complex and somewhat obscure process of correcting for various variables, she concludes that 34 percent of parents belong to the Roman Catholic column, 28 percent to the Protestant Christian, and 38 percent to the neutral where choice of school is the criterion. The Roman Catholic column is monolithic because most people that belong to the Roman Catholic Church vote for the Roman Catholic party, although

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[29] H. Verwey-Jonker, "De psychologie van de verzuiling" ("The Psychology of Columns"), Socialisme en Democratie (Socialism and Democracy) (December, 1957), pp. 30-39.

3 percent of Dutch voters are Catholics who vote for the labor party and one percent send children to public schools. On the other hand, the Protestant Christian column is composed of Netherlands Reformed, Calvinist, and other denominations. Although most members vote for protestant political parties, 18 percent of Dutch voters are Protestants who vote for the labor party. Of those without religion, most vote for the labor party although an appreciable number vote for liberal and for communist candidates. Labor party members send their children to Roman Catholic and to Protestant Christian as well as to public and to private neutral schools. In short, the other columns than the Roman Catholic are not monolithic and it is doubtful in her opinion that one can speak of the neutral-socialist-humanist remainder of the Dutch population as a column. She concludes that the picture one gets of the column system depends upon the perspective with which one looks at it.

Several articles by J. P. Kruijt have made more extended analyses of the columnizing of Dutch society. In one of these[30] he offers a definition which seeks to mark columns off from other varieties of social structure and to discuss in greater detail the significance of the phenomenon. "Columns are blocks of social organizations and forms of living together which are based on spiritual foundations, equal before the law, and existing within a larger spiritually mixed, but predominately racially and ethnically homogeneous, democratic nation."[31] Columns are implicitly equal before the law because the law never mentions columns; there are no legally defined privileges. The definition enables us to distinguish columns from other related phenomena like ethnic groups, churches and religious sects, social class and the like. Ethnic groups are not treated as socially equal; they are strangers who are attached to their own language and culture. Classes lack the common spiritual basis of columns. Churches and their religious tasks are not to be identified with columns. Denominationalism itself does not necessarily produce separate organizations of social life to keep spiritually like-minded people in contact with their own rather than with other-thinking people. Columns appear in a democratic society because the isolation of the group is freely chosen, voluntarily enforced, and can only voluntarily be weakened.

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[30] J. P. Kruijt, "Sociologische beschouwingen over zuilen en verzuiling" ("Sociological Considerations About Columns and Formation of Columns"), Socialisme en Democratie (December, 1957), pp. 11-29.

[31] Kruijt, p. 15.

Kruijt suggests drawing a number of circles around the church. The first circle would contain the essentially religious functions; the second, the educational and philanthropic tasks--schools, hospitals, old people's homes and the like; the third, economic and general cultural activities--sporting societies, labor unions, political parties, insurance companies, corporations, radio, technical schools, music societies, building societies, farmers societies, commercial organizations, teetotalers organizations, libraries. One can speak of columns only when the third area is included.

In addition to this way of looking at the organization of columns, Kruijt suggests that one can also consider another range of social forms: the intranubium (intermarriage), the intravivium (associating together), the intracaritas (mutual assistance), and--although, as he says, it is no fine term--the intraeconomie (mutual economic relationships). We have already seen that columnizing involves the preference of people to marry within their own denominational group. Kruijt's main point is that the range of interaction between people of different columns is drastically reduced by the dominance of patterns of interaction between people of the same column. Although 14 percent of Roman Catholic voters did not vote for the Roman Catholic party in the last election, and although 50 to 75 percent of radio listeners who subscribe to a columnized program magazine listen to other broadcasts than that of their own column, and although some unions are not columnized, the range of associations between members of different spiritual perspectives is severely limited. Village and neighborhood associating has lost to an ideological principle of interrelationship.

In areas where there is a marked majority of one column and a small minority of another, there may be much cooperation between them. However, in situations where a Roman Catholic minority has recently grown into a majority or will shortly achieve a majority, there is such a struggle day in and day out that one can hardly speak any more of a local community. The struggle manifests itself everywhere: in appointments and elections; in renting, buying and selling of farms and houses; in buying in shops; in the playing of children; in pressure against mixed marriages. Protestant boys are not allowed to come into Roman Catholic cafes and football clubs. One village even had columnized celebrations of the anniversary of the ending of the war.

> . . . Here in such areas--and these areas are not alone--what is so often denied comes clearly to the fore, the element of

> power in the struggle between columns. We who watch the course of development of our country must fear that in spite of the reflections of intellectual leaders, the height of the struggle is not yet reached. The column organizations are busy conquering the last peaceful areas. Therewith the daily intervivium for our people becomes smaller and smaller. We live separately as at least three people.[32]

Professor Kruijt points out that Christian charity in the Netherlands rather than taking after the example of the good Samaritan, accentuates the latter part of Paul's letter to the Galatains where it says, "Where we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of our own belief." Since much specialization and many kinds of experts are involved in modern Christianity charity, each column must see to it that it has its share of the national effort. Every denomination should have so many beds in hospitals, so many doctors, specialists, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists, dentists, social case workers and so on, all of the same denomination and supported by their proportionate part in the provided subsidies. He feels that this is not just a matter of justice and equal opportunity for charitable work but that there are elements of power and influence coming into play.

Professor Kruijt calls attention to economic discrimination as the worst aspect of columnization, especially the preference to appoint in employment situations members of one's own denomination. The process is automatically reinforced since if one denomination does so, others are inclined in defending themselves to do the same thing. In employment advertisements one can find small letters indicating the preferred column: r.k. for Roman Catholic; p.g. for Calvinist; n.h. for Dutch Reformed; g.g. for no religion.

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[32] Kruijt, p. 21.

In a study of advertisements in general and denominational papers he found four groups or kinds of advertisements where discrimination was present. The first group consisted of non-economic advertisements--advertisements for marriage, correspondence, dancing clubs, choirs, tennis clubs, and the like. The second group concerned personal services--maids, baby-sitters and so on. The third group advertised for people to work in institutions--hospitals, rest homes, schools and the like. These three groups contained by far the largest amount of discriminatory advertisements. The fourth group dealt with positions in business and industry--shop girls, secretaries and the like. Much less discrimination was found here especially if a firm is mentioned by name or is a large firm. The phenomenon of economic discrimination by columns is certainly present, but research in the matter is insufficient to yield a clear picture.

According to Professor Kruijt, economic discrimination between columns is found in the selling and leasing of farm land and houses. In some villages a wide variety of measures exist to keep property in the hands of coreligionists.

It is interesting in this regard that an article in Delta mentions the religious factor in the selection of farmers and other occupations to become members of communities settled on the new polders (reclaimed land) of the Zuiderzee.

> . . . Farmers wishing to settle on the new land are required to give proof of competence, financial resources, and good

> reputation, and on this basis the most suitable applicants are selected. It is rather typically Dutch that the religious beliefs of the applicants are also to some extent taken into consideration, the aim being to ensure that the religious composition of the new communities will correspond to that of the country as a whole. The conditions for acceptance of farmers also apply to shopkeepers and tradesmen. . . .[33]

In another article,[34] written in English, Professor Kruijt observes that the columns may perform the function of binding members to the various churches but for the nation as a whole they work dysfunctionally. Since people in different columns do not meet in such a way that they come really to know each other, the formation and spread of stereotypes about people in other columns than one's own may readily occur. Furthermore, since in the Netherlands the confessional columns are related to political affairs, the churches may be drawn into a situation in which they apply pressure and sanctions in regard to the political choices of their members.

An instance occurred in 1954 when a comprehensive pastoral letter signed by the Archbishop of Utrecht and six Roman Catholic bishops was issued.[35] In the first parts of the Mandate the bishops deal with religion in a narrower sense, then with the role of the church in the problems of life, and subsequently a section deals with the social activities of the church. The Mandate then has a section on so-called "Unchristian Movements"--liberalism, humanism, the "Alliance for Sexual Reform," socialist trade unions, communism, and the labor party.

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[33] Sjoerd Groenman, "Calm Amidst the Raging Waves," Delta, II (Winter, 1959-60), p. 13.

[34] J. P. Kruijt, "The Influence of Denominationalism on Social Life and Organizational Patterns," Archives de Sociologie des Religions, IV (Juillet-Déc., 1959), pp. 105-111.

[35] Bisschoppelijk Mandement (Episcopal Mandate), De Katholiek in het Openbare Leven van Deze Tijd (The Roman Catholic in the Social Life of These Times), May 1, 1954, 47 pp.

In dealing in the last sections with membership of Roman Catholics in socialistic associations, the Bishops observe that although they appreciate that socialists in the Netherlands are not pushing for the class struggle any more, their principles are not safe anchorages for Christian belief and morals. There are Catholic organizations in all areas so that Catholics can belong to them. There is no reason to belong to socialist societies which bring serious dangers to the preservation of the faith and the Christian character of society. Hence, for Catholics it is not permitted to be a member of socialistic organizations, to visit regularly socialist meetings, to read regularly the socialist press, or to listen to VARA, the socialist broadcasting station.

> . . . We maintain the rule that the holy sacraments must be refused--and, in the case of death without conversion, also the ecclesiastical funeral--to any Catholic, who is a known member of a socialist association, or who without being a member, still regularly attends Socialist meetings, or is a regular reader of Socialist periodicals or papers.[36]

This statement stirred up much comment at the time it appeared, and Kruijt says, "It was a declaration of war from the R.C. church against the idea of breaking through the antithetical lines of demarcation set up by the Neo-Calvinists and their Catholic allies."[37]

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[36] De Mandement, p. 43.

[37] Kruijt, "The Influence of Denominationalism on Social Life and Organizational Patterns," p. 110.

By way of explanation here, although we shall deal with the matter in a later section, a movement known as the "doorbraak" ("break-through," or bursting of a dyke) had sought to break with the tradition of columns at least on the political side, and with the "antithesis" set up by strict Calvinists against liberalism and modernistic religious outlooks. The bishops were explicitly repudiating the "doorbraak" movement. Professor Kruijt points out that the Dutch Reformed Church in a Protestant Pastoral Letter rejected this pressure evident in the bishop's mandate. One of the protestant political parties, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, which derives directly from the "antithesis," heartily agreed with the Catholic hierarchy's position.[38] The Neo-Calvinist Church (Gereformeered) at first disagreed with the position of the Catholic bishops, then had a number of petitions filed against this position, and have more recently appointed a committee to study the issue and recommend their position to the general synod. The incident illustrates the complexity of the Dutch system of columns, the character of the churches' involvement in the ideological and spiritual basis of the columns, and the extent of the churches' influence in the political life of the Netherlands.

Another article, of which Kruijt is co-author, is, as the title indicates, an effort to assess the extent of the growth and decline of columnization.[39] In a section called "Structional Analysis and Structural

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[38] Kruijt, "The Influence of Denominationalism on Social Life and Organizational Patterns," p. 110.

[39] J. P. Kruijt and Walter Goddijn, "Verzuiling en Ontzuiling als Sociologisch Proces" ("Pillarization and Depillarization as a Sociological Proces"), *Drift en Doers* (*Drift and Course*: *A Half Century of Social Change in the Netherlands*), edited by A. N. J. den Hollander, E. W. Hofstee, J. A. A. van Doorn, and E. V. W. Vercruysse (Assen: van Gorcum & Co., 1962), 331 pp.

Changes" the effort is to analyze columns in a more quantitative way through the identification of factors contributing to their growth in some dimensions and their decline in others. Although it is not feasible to represent the entire analysis made in this chapter, some aspects of it may be used to contribute to our understanding of columnizing as a condition of Dutch policy regarding religion and schooling.

A distinction is made between those aspects of social life that are "structurally pillarized" and those that are "general" (denominationally pluralistic). An organization is "structurally pillarized" when explicitly and collectively it has a "levensbeschouwing", a general outlook on life, as a stated foundation. A "general" organization is one which is in principle open to all regardless of confession or spiritual view of life. This distinction pertains to the organized sectors of social life. In addition there are the unorganized sectors, those areas not dominated by organizations of a particular confessional view or by those of a general or pluralistic character. These distinctions are used to show that the columns are in significant ways dissimilar.

When we look at the pattern of life of the 40 percent of the Dutch population belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, we see that the structure of social life is relatively simple. Most of it consists of structurally pillarized forms of organization, predominantly in choice of school, pattern of voting, and the reading of daily papers, in the order given. Unorganized patterns of life are found mostly in trade union membership, membership in diverse societies (recreational), and in subscriptions to broadcast magazines. Participation in "general" organizations is low.

The Protestant Christian and religiously unaffiliated members of the population present a much more varied and complex picture.

The 10 percent of the Dutch people who belong to the Neo-Calvinist Church show a pattern of structurally pillarized life quite similar to that of the Roman Catholics.

The 31 percent belonging to the Netherlands Reformed and other churches are shown to participate extensively in organizations of the "general" type, reading non-confessional papers, voting for liberal or labor candidates for the Second Chamber, sending children to public or to neutral schools, in the order given. They are about evenly divided in choice between confessional and non-confessional schools. Participation in Protestant Christian structurally columnized activities in other areas of social life is low, appearing to average less than 20 percent. Participation in labor unions, diverse (recreational) societies, and subscribing to broadcast magazines, respectively, is frequently on an unorganized basis.

The 19 percent of the population with no church affiliation is, of course, not organized on a confessional basis, although a few people send their children to confessional primary schools and a few read confessional newspapers and participate in confessional societies. The unorganized aspects of their lives are largely in the same areas and general proportions as the confessional groups.[40]

By way of summary, the Dutch population is not evenly columnized; the Roman Catholics more clearly so. The difference between the R.C.s and the more dogmatic Calvinists on the one hand and the non-affiliated on the other is such that the term "column" does not have the same meaning for each. The Dutch Reformed Church, containing more varied points of view falls between the Neo-Calvinists and the neutralists. The selection of primary school is the area of maximum structural pillarization. The religiously unaffiliated and the liberal wing of the confessional churches seem to have much more in common than either of them have with the more conservative Calvinists or with the R.C.s. To put the matter in terms of Ralph Linton's analysis of cultures into universal, specialist, and alternative dimensions, it is difficult to see the cultural universals serving to unite the Dutch people.

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[40] Kruijt, "Verzuiling en Ontzuiling als Sociologisch Proces," p. 237.

In another aspect of his analysis, Kruijt reports that the degree of pillarization is highest for education, "free youth education," and social work, respectively. It is lowest for sports, press, cultural organizations, and trade unions, in this order.[41]

In yet another section he finds that the degree of pillarization in organizations, especially Roman Catholic ones, is increasing.[42] On the other hand, a reverse tendency is present, but pertains primarily to a small group of intellectuals and especially those within the Netherlands Reformed Church.[43] Cooperation between members of different groups has not led to a revision of fundamental policies of columns but only to some understanding of other groups which may in the long run be a condition for new developments to come.

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[41] Kruijt, "Verzuiling en Ontzuiling als Sociologisch Proces," pp. 238-9.

[42] Kruijt, "Verzuiling en Ontzuiling als Sociologisch Proces," pp. 244-5.

[43] Kruijt, "Verzuiling en Ontzuiling als Sociologisch Proces," p. 248.

POLITICAL PARTIES

We have seen that educational policy in the Netherlands is a matter of constant care and concern of the government and that the policy of full support of private schools is involved in the columnizing of Dutch society. Since the columns have also a political aspect, it is important to understand in some measure the Dutch political party system. In this matter, as with the columns, the situation is extremely complicated. We shall only be able to sketch it in the large, omitting most of the details concerning the historical development as well as the political philosophy and power alignments of the parties. However, we shall try to show enough of the present political situation and how it comes about so that one can sense the political character of the discussion and determination of educational policy.

Some general characteristics of the Dutch political situation should be held in mind. The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy, the monarchy being hereditary within the House of Orange-Nassau. At present Queen Juliana is on the throne and Princess Beatrix, the eldest of four royal daughters is heir presumptive to the throne. The Sovereign, apart from rather formal functions such as the signing of Royal Decrees and the appointment of Ministers under the guidance of a "formateur" following national elections which occur typically every four years, does not have political responsibility, in fact, is supposed to be removed from political affairs. The Ministers are responsible. The Ministers are "the government" in the sense that they provide a program which is then submitted to the States-General. Ministers may not be members of parliament; a member of parliament on becoming a Minister has to resign from parliament. The Council of Ministers, the chairman of which is the Prime Minister, is the general policy-forming body.

The States-General has two Chambers. The Second Chamber with 150 members (before 1956, 100 members) is directly elected by the people. The First Chamber of 75 members is elected by the Provincial Councils. The Second Chamber is more powerful than the First.

A bill is submitted by the Minister(s) concerned and discussed by the Council of Ministers; a Council of State offers its advice; a Royal message is added; and the bill with an "explanatory memorandum" is sent to the Second Chamber. There it is received by a number of non-public committees and a provisional report is sent to the Minister(s) and published. The Ministers submit a memorandum in reply, which is also published. Then the bill is publically debated in the Second Chamber, where it can be amended. It then goes to the First Chamber where it receives the same treatment but may not be amended. If passed by both chambers, it receives the Royal assent, is signed by the Minister(s) and published.

In the event of conflict between Government and States-General, the Ministers may resign and a new Cabinet be formed or the Chambers dissolved and new ones elected. There is a clear tendency to work things out so that neither of these alternatives will be needed. Seats in the Second Chamber are proportionally distributed by a quota system to the various parties if they have a certain minimum number of votes.

It is rather difficult to understand present Dutch political parties apart from the history of their development. However, their histories are very complex, involving the splintering of earlier groups and the amalgamation of various smaller groups. Furthermore, various coalitions have been arrived at in different periods since no party has anything approaching a majority. These coalitions of course call forth their appropriate opposition groupings. Since much of the history of Dutch politics concerns differences of religious beliefs and interests, and the function of the state in the support of them, the parties reflect these basic religious differences. The struggle over the schools established the main lines of the Dutch party system, lines which continue today in the rift between confessional and non-confessional parties and a division between conservatives and progressives in both confessional and non-confessional parties. The history of Dutch politics is largely that of compromise or establishing of a temporary truce between confessional and public interests. The Digest of the Netherlands refers to "the moderate nature of the Dutch, who care nothing for acrimonious party politics and who like to see the maximum of consideration being given to the interests of all."[44]

The chief outlines of the political situation at the national level may be seen from a table summarizing election results for the composition of the Second Chamber in the last four elections.[45]

As a result of the 1963 election a coalition of the Catholic Peoples' Party, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, the Christian Historical Union, and the liberal party or Peoples' Party for Freedom and Democracy

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[44] Ministry of Education, The Netherlands: Constitutional Organization and Political Life (The Hague, 1958), p. 33.

[45] Adapted from mimeographed copy of unpublished manuscript dated September, 1962, addenda in 1963, by G. H. Scholten and G. Ringnalda for An International Guide to Electoral Statistics.

TABLE 4. SUMMARY TABLE OF ELECTION RESULTS, SECOND CHAMBER, 1952-1963

	1952		1956		1959		1963	
Number of valid votes cast	5,335,754		5,727,742		5,999,531		6,258,521	
Percent of valid votes cast for each party followed by number of seats obtained	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats
RELIGIOUS PARTIES								
(a) Protestant Parties								
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (Calvinist Reformed Party)	2.4	2	2.3	3	2.2	3	2.3	3
Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (Anti-Revolutionary Party)	11.3	12	9.9	15	9.4	14	8.7	13
Christelijk-Historische Unie (Christian-Historical Union)	8.9	9	8.4	13	8.1	12	8.6	13
(b) Roman Catholic Parties								
Katholieke Nationale Partij (Roman Catholic National Party)	2.7	2						
Katholieke Volkspartij (Roman Catholic People's Party)	28.7	30	31.7	49	3.16	49	3.19	50

TABLE 4 (Continued)

	1952		1956		1959		1963	
	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats	Per-cent	Seats
LIBERAL PARTIES								
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy)	8.8	9	8.8	13	12.2	19	10.3	16
SOCIALIST PARTIES								
Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)	29.0	30	32.7	50	30.3	48	28.0	43
Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij (Pacifist Socialist Party)					1.8	2	3.0	4
Communistische Partij van Nederland (Communist Party of the Netherlands)	6.2	6	4.8	7	2.4	3	2.8	4
OTHER PARTIES								
(Those with seats obtained)							2.9	4
(Those with no seats obtained)	2.0		1.4		2.0		1.5	
Total	100.0	100	100.0	100.	100.0	100	100.0	100

forms the Cabinet at the time of this writing. The Labor Party or socialists form the opposition. Before 1959 the Cabinet consisted of a coalition between the Labor Party, the Catholic Peoples' Party, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, and the Christian Historical Union.

In a study by the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion in 1954 a cross tabulation shows the percentage of the total party vote contributed by the major church groups. A representative sample of 1,908 voters was interviewed.

We are now in a position to state the general positions of the parties from the point of view of their influence on educational policies particularly as they deal with religion and the schools.

The K.V.P., Catholic Peoples' Party, although not a clerical party and although in principle open to non-Catholics, expresses the political philosophy of the Roman Church and is the political spokesman for Catholics in the Netherlands. Its purpose is to bring the principles derived from the revelation of God as interpreted by church authorities into the natural order. In the natural order there is a hierarchy; every lower form has its own function and is a step to the higher. Just as the church rules in spiritual matters, so the state rules in the natural area, save that the state is restricted by the law of nature. The state must promote total well-being; the lower societies taking care of human wants and necessities according to their distinctive character. Only that may be done by the state which the lower societies or communities cannot do for themselves, and the state is to help individuals and lesser societies do what they cannot do effectively for themselves. This is the principle of subsidiarity. Hence, the state should not

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF POLITICAL PARTY VOTE BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION*

	Roman Catholic	Dutch Reformed	Neo-Calvinist	No Church Affiliation	No Answer	Total Percent
Labor Party	7	45	1	41	4	100
Catholic Peoples' Party	96	1	-	1	2	100
Anti-Revolutionary Party	1	35	58	3	3	100
Christian Historical Union	-	94	2	2	2	100
Liberal Party	2	58	2	28	10	100
Communist Party	5	19	-	71	5	100
Remaining Parties	39	25	23	7	6	100
No Answer	32	36	3	25	4	100

*Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, De Nederlandse Kiezer (The Dutch Voter) (The Hague: State Printing House and Publishing Service, 1956), p. 86.

interfere with schools run by private groups, and it should aid them in providing a suitable level of schooling.

The K.V.P. was formed after the war, in 1946, replacing an earlier party. In general, it represents progressive policies in regard to social-economic matters. From 1946 to 1959 there was a coalition between it and the Labor Party. This coalition was thus in effect during the passage of the 1958 Secondary Education Bill, the so-called Mammoth Law. After the 1959 election this coalition was replaced by one with the Calvinist and Liberal Parties. The Labor Party is the present opposition party.

The Anti-Revolutionary Party emerged from a nineteenth century movement led by Groen van Prinsterer against the secular tendencies of the French Revolution. By "revolution" van Prinsterer meant, not overthrow of political authority and substitution of another as exemplified in the American Revolution, but a total conversion of ideas and transformation of attitude in which Christian principles are done away with. In his view, the theory of the sovereignty of the people was based on anti-religious views. God, not the people, should be reorganized as sovereign. The true Christian was in his sense an anti-revolutionist.

The party developed in 1878 from a petition against an Education Act which sought to improve public schools and did not provide subsidy for private schools. Under the leadership of Dr. Abraham Kuyper, who became Prime Minister in 1901, a petition for "the school with the Bible" was within a few days signed by more than 300,000 people, although this did not keep the Act from being passed. In formulating the principles of the party, which remain its principles today, Kuyper held that in the word of God, i.e., the Bible, are the eternal principles which direct political life. The various areas of life, including the state, are directly responsible to God. The State cannot be sovereign over all the spheres of life. Such spheres as the family, church, school and the like are "sovereign in their own right" directly under the sovereignty of God. Government has to do away with everything which impedes the free influence of the Gospels on the life of the people. An antithesis to the rationalism of the 18th century is set up. Christian principles should penetrate every area of life; Christians should organize in every respect apart from and against other-thinking, Non-Christian people. Under this doctrine, a free school, i.e., the school freely chosen by the parents, should be the dominant type of school and the public school should be the supplement.

The Christian Historical Union derives from a break with the Anti-Revolutionary Party in 1894. Its leaders were convinced that a party should have a religious foundation, but they were not willing to carry the antithesis to the extreme advocated by Kuyper. The antithesis is restricted to inner religious life rather than extended to all the areas of life. Although God is the source of all authority, more room should be left for independent human choice. Practical political matters should not stem directly from Calvinistic interpretations of the Bible. Although what the church says is important for political life, government should be independent of the church. Thus the Christian Historical Union is less strictly Calvinistic than the Anti-Revolutionary Party. Its members come mostly from the Dutch Reformed Church, rather than from the more dogmatic Calvinist Church whose members usually belong to the

Anti-Revolutionary Party. After the forming of the Labor Party in 1945 several leaders in the Christian Historical Union went over to the Labor Party, thus contributing to the "doorbraak" movement, which we mentioned on page 229.

The Labor Party was founded after the war as a new socialist party. An earlier Social Democratic Laborers Party had been much more Marxist. The new party was formed with the aim of being a progressive people's party. Its socialism is only a view of social policy, not a spiritual view of life. It aimed to do away with political parties on a denominational basis and hence is a "doorbraak" party. Believers and non-believers should unite on a common program about economic, social and political matters.

The Labor Party's program proposes an economic order without opposition between classes. The most important means of production in the areas of industry, banking, and transportation are to be brought under public control and the remaining means of production regulated in the public interest. Consultation and planning to this end is to take place not only within existing political bodies but also in new organizations in the industrial and economic fields. Democratic socialism is to be promoted by lawfully established bodies, below the level of governmental agencies, which plan and control an area of production or economic activity and in which both labor and management are represented. This creation of new, largely autonomous, regulatory organizations is an important aspect of the socialist program in the policy area for in the Mammoth Law an effort was made to extend this kind of planning and control to the area of education.

In view of its program it is clear that the Labor Party is mainly supported by the more progressive wing of the Dutch Reformed Church and by those without church affiliation. However, the party has within it societies of Protestant Christian, Roman Catholic, and Humanist League members. The formation and work of these societies within the party makes possible a common responsibility for forming opinion and decision. It also demonstrates the difficulty of attaining an integrated movement in the context of the columnizing of Dutch society.

The present Liberal Party, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, was formed in 1948 of several groups which had existed before the war and a number of people who were inclined toward the new Labor Party but who for one reason or another were unable to accept its program. The V.V.D. holds that the essential moral elements of Christian belief--freedom, responsibility, and social justice--are the foundations of Dutch life and are accepted by many who do not confess the Christian religion. The essential moral attitude is sufficient to provide a common view on political principles and policies. How to combine religious conviction and political principle is left to the individual. Freedom of fellow-man is as important as one's own freedom; tolerance for the spiritual beliefs of others is a first demand of democracy.

The liberals are opposed to the extension of the powers of the state which in the socialist movement leave too little room for the development of independent power and responsibility. Although it denies a laissez-faire position, it opposes the socialist policy of increasing nationalization of industry because it concentrates too much power in the state and endangers individual freedom.

In regard to relations between the government and the Chambers, the Liberal Party is opposed to the process whereby in the appointment of Ministers agreements are made between Prime Minister and party leaders. These agreements, sometimes taking a protracted period to work out, produce legislative decisions that are not the product of public discussion. Decisions are closed before debate. Furthermore, representatives in the States-General should vote their own freely taken decisions rather than be bound by party doctrine.

Since these three confessional parties and two non-confessional ones account for the main distribution of power in the States-General, we shall not attempt to delineate the various minor parties on either side of the religious-nonconfessional division. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that there are even more fundamentalist religious parties as well as a more radical socialistic party interested primarily in anti-militarism. There is also a communist party which is Marxist but independent of international communism and is characterized by one review of its record as "a study in futility."[46]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CURRENT POLICY

The historical roots of present policy concerning religion and the schools are of course entwined in the complex story of the emergence and growth of the Dutch nation. We shall point to some of the intellectual movements and cultural currents, particularly those of the nineteenth century, in which modern policies are rooted. However, the relations between movements and events on the one side and policies on the other are frequently too involved to claim a direct one-to-one correspondence between a particular historical aspect of Dutch experience and a specific aspect of present policy. This study makes no claim to having discovered direct line cause-effect relationships. A whole network of events, movements, and tendencies is involved in the development of modern policy. We shall illustrate selected conditions contributing to an understanding of the present situation.

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[46] Fritz Kool, "Communism in Holland: A Study in Futility," Problems of Communism, IX (September-October, 1960), pp. 17-24.

Some of the ingredients of present policy derive from the time of the Reformation. Calvinism began to be felt particularly in the southern provinces about 1540 and spread rapidly to the north. It was a revolutionary doctrine both on the side of religious belief, in which it supported the view of man's direct relationship with God, and on the political and economic side, in which it supported a strict regime of life based on personal conviction and conscience. Its stress on Bible reading led to an emphasis on schools for all children regardless of rank or wealth in which each could learn to be directly accountable to God. It gave spiritual backing to movements that were already asserting the independence and autonomy of the people.

One of the instances of the early spirit of independence of the Dutch people consists in the JOYEUSE ENTREE or blythe entrance, a charter of the States of Brabant, which their ruler was forced to grant in 1356. It provided that "the prince of the land should not elevate the clerical state higher than of old has been customary and by former princes settled; unless by consent of the other two estates, the nobility and the cities." Further, "the prince can prosecute no one of his subjects, nor any foreign resident, civilly or criminally, except in the ordinary and open courts of justice in the province, where the accused may answer and defend himself with the help of advocates." Furthermore, "the prince shall appoint no foreigners to office in Brabant," and finally, "should the prince, by force or otherwise, violate any of these privileges, the inhabitants of Brabant, after regular protest entered, are discharged of their oaths of allegiance, and as free, independent, and unbound people, may conduct themselves exactly as seems to them best."[47] The constitution of the province of Holland also provided that "Justice can be administered only by the ordinary tribunals and magistrates. The ancient laws and customs shall remain inviolable. Should the prince infringe any of these provisions, no one is bound to obey him."[48] Motley cites these provisions as illustrative of the general spirit of the provincial constitutions; other provinces had similar affirmations of the rights of the people.

When the doctrines of Calvinism are meshed with these declarations of the rights of free and independent people, the conflict with the Spanish regime in its effort to enforce the doctrines of the Roman Church is evident. Philip II of Spain, the last of the princes of the Burgundian-Hapsburg dynasty, began his rule in 1555. The Dutch had already felt the force of the inquisition, but under Philip the military power of Spain was brought to bear upon the elimination of heresy. The edict which accompanied Philip's accession to the throne shows the brutal thoroughness of the inquisition in the Netherlands.

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[47] John Lothrop Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1950), Vol. I, p. 235.

[48] Motley, Vol. I, p. 236.

> No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, sell, buy or give in churches, streets, or other places, any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Ecolampadius, Ulrich Zwinglius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics reprobated by the Holy Church; . . . or break, nor otherwise injure the images of the holy virgin, or canonized saints; . . . nor in his house hold conventicles, or illegal gatherings, or be present at any such in which the adherents of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize, and form conspiricies against the Holy Church and the general welfare. . . . Moreover, we forbid all lay persons to converse or dispute concerning the Holy Scriptures, openly or secretly . . . or to preach secretly, or openly, or to entertain any of the opinions of the above mentioned heretics; . . . on pain . . . to be punished in the following manner . . . .
>
> That such perturbators of the general quiet are to be executed, to wit: the men with the sword and the women to be buried alive, if they do not persist in their errors; if they do persist in them, then they are to be executed with fire; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown.
>
> We forbid all persons to lodge, entertain, furnish with food, fire, or clothing, or otherwise to favour any one holden or notoriously suspected of being a heretic; . . . and any one failing to denounce any such we ordain shall be liable to the above mentioned punishments.
>
> . . . If any person, being not convicted of heresy or error, but greatly suspected thereof . . . shall be considered as relapsed, and as such punished with loss of life and property.
>
> . . . All who know of any person tainted with heresy are required to denounce and give them up to all judges . . . on pain of being punished according to the pleasure of the judge. Likewise, all shall be obliged, who know of any place where such heretics keep themselves, to declare them to the authorities, on pain of being held as accomplices . . . .
>
> . . . The informer, in case of conviction, should be entitled to one half the property of the accused . . . . If any man being present at any secret conventicle, shall afterwards come forward and betray his fellow members of the congregation, he shall receive full pardon.[49]

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[49] Motley, Vol. I, pp. 228-231.

In order that these decrees not only inspire terror but also be put severely into effect, all judges were forbidden to alter or moderate the penalties in any manner. The severity of these measures precipitated the Eighty Years War (1568-1648).

The freedom for which the Netherlanders fought consisted of the rights and privileges of the provincial charters, primarily the right of local self-government and the independence of social groups.[50] As William the Silent, Prince of Orange, stated as he led the revolt against Spain, "The privileges are not free grants of the sovereign to his subjects, but form contracts binding both prince and people."[51] Religious freedom and the tolerance of different beliefs were not at that time commonly accepted, but the principles of lawful justice and the independence of social groups were already deeply rooted in the Dutch people.

One of the results of the struggle against Spain was the establishment of Calvinism in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church of the Old Republic. However, although its clergy were highly intolerant of dissenters, and the church monopolized public offices, the doctrines of the Synod of Dordrecht (1619) were not accepted by some without reservation. They followed the more tolerant view of Erasmus and Coornhert allowing more scope, within the authority of the Scriptures, to human controls and to moral principles rather than official dogma. The Southern provinces remained predominantly Catholic; Remonstrants and

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[50] B. H. M. Vlekke, "The Dutch Before 1581," The Netherlands edited by Bartholomew Landheer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), p. 36.

[51] Vlekke, p. 37.

Mennonites were also present in the northern provinces; Jews and Catholics, in the cities. The seeds of religious pluralism were present although the Calvinist Church dominated and its control over the schools was extensive.

A school regulation of 1655 brought the schools under the direction of the Calvinist Church, placing the emphasis on the honor of God, the prosperity of the Church, the welfare of the commonwealth, and the well-being of citizens in this order.[52] Teachers had to be pious, godly men, members, with their wives of the Calvinist Church. On their appointment as teachers they had to subscribe to the profession of faith and the catechism. Books contradictory to the Calvinist religion were banned, and the church was to supervise the observance of this regulation. Teachers should enforce children's regular attendance at church and urge parents to attend. These measures pertained also to private schools. In addition to them, the teacher was very often the sexton of the church. The regulations were issued in a more stringent form in 1725.[53]

However, the conception of man's place as a personally-called servant of God, directly and entirely responsible to Him, tended also to mitigate against the acceptance of church doctrine. The Formulla for Administrating Holy Baptism to Children made it the responsibility of the parents to bring up children so that they could read and understand the Bible and the Christian faith for themselves. Although "the school of the parents" is a later conception, the roots of this policy are found in this expression of Calvinist principles. It has been appraised as "one of the most important and influencial pedagogical documents produced in the Netherlands."[54]

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[52] The immediately following pages are heavily indebted to Professor Idenburg's Schets van het Nederlandse Schoolwezen, which has not been translated into English.

[53] Idenburg, p. 75.

The forces of the Enlightenment, following the period of French domination under Napoleon, gradually began to undermine the hold of the religious convictions of the earlier Calvinist period. Tolerance became recognized as a central Christian virtue. Discrimination against Roman Catholics and protestants outside the Church was more and more seen as injustice. The close cooperation of the Clavinist Church with the state came to an end. A Dutch declaration of the rights of man in 1795 provided that no one could be excluded from public office on religious grounds. The teacher no longer had to conform to the profession of faith; he submitted testimony of his civic loyalty. A conception of the separation of church and state became dominant.

As the state took over the cultural task of the church a unified elementary school system was created, devoted to "the development of the intellectual faculties of the children and their being reared in all social and Christian virtues."[55] The Education Act of 1806 provided that the school was to have a Christian character; the teacher was to teach the historical and moral part of Christianity. The school was open to prayer, to Christian hymns, to study of the Bible, but the dogmatic aspect of religion was to be managed outside the school. On this basis a national system of schools supervised by the state was initiated and continued in subsequent enactments.

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[54] Idenburg, p. 77.

[55] Idenburg, p. 79.

The Law of 1806 also introduced the dual system, the system of public and private schools. In this period, however, public schools were those wholly or partly supported by public funds. These funds might come from state, local, or church sources. Consequently, public schools might have ecclesiastical support. Private schools were of two types: The first were those founded by foundations; the second, those founded by private citizens and supported by pupils' fees. In this period there were only three of the first type and more than 581 of the second,[56] but in later years, the first type became dominant.

The control of public schools in the Law of 1806 was highly centralistic. The appointment of teachers, the content of schooling, the selection of books were in the hands of supervisors appointed by the state. Although the policies of 1806 raised the quality of primary education and provided a unity that transcended earlier provincialism, they resulted in a reaction against an autocratic central authority and thus began the long school struggle against a monolithic school system.

Gradually the provisions of the Act of 1806 were modified under the influence of various movements opposed to the centralization of power in the state. A non-ecclesiastic religious revival known as the Réveil (revival) reaffirmed the older Calvinism. Another movement inspired by the clergy urged the restoration of the earlier position of the church and flourished especially among the rural people of the northern provinces. Both of these groups adhered to the authority of the Bible, not that of the autonomous human spirit. The Roman Catholics were interested in removing the protestant bias from the public schools.

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[56] Idenburg, p. 29.

An Act of 1830 contained a provision which was to be expanded in later policy statements into the current prohibition against "doing or neglecting to do anything that is contrary to the respect due to the religious conceptions of others." In the 1830 Act the policy was that in the public schools "no book was to be used which contained anything contrary to social order or morals, or could give offense to any one or another of the sects to which the children belonged." In 1842 the provision was extended to having the teachers "give to the members of the various religious sects in their town or municipality, at their written request, a list of all books, hymns, and writings which the teachers employ in their teaching." Detailed provisions were made so that any passages to which objection was made were to be rendered illegible and replaced if necessary by content approved by all members of the provincial committee. Teachers were forbidden to give any explanation or to use expressions that would give offense to any sect. Classrooms were to be available one hour a day for ecclesiastical religious instruction. By these means the power of the state was to be used to achieve neutral instruction while denominational instruction was separately provided for.

In general, in the early decades of the nineteenth century a relatively weak state authority built a national system of primary education of a Christian character. In the later decades of the first half of the century a more dominant central authority provided a religiously unoffensive curriculum supplemented by church teaching. In the last half of the century a third position was dominant in which cultural unity was provided by state schools but the right to found private schools not controlled or financed by the state was recognized.

This third position, involving the redirection of educational policy according to the Constitution of 1848, was achieved under the direction of the liberalism of the period and especially the leadership of the great Dutch statesman, Thorbecke. The Constitution provided that "the giving of education is free except for supervision by the government and, as concerns primary and secondary education, the investigation of the ability and morality of the teachers: both regulated by law."[57] Together with the lawful right to establish free, i.e., independent or private schools, the constitution guaranteed a sufficient number of public schools throughout the country. "Everywhere in the Kingdom sufficient public education shall be given by the government." Further, this public education must, according to law, respect everyone's religious convictions.

It is interesting to note that the gymnasium, at that time included in higher education, was not included in these legal regulations because it was commonly taken for granted that the state should have nothing to do with the education of the higher classes.

From this time on "public schools" were those founded and financed by towns, provinces, or central government. The constitutional provision for the freedom of education referred to the founding of schools largely independent of state or municipal control. Free primary education was advocated by the liberals who were supported in this view by the Roman Catholics and the early anti-revolutionarians. However, the conceptions of freedom of the three groups were not identical.

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[57] Idenburg, p. 34.

The liberals, who were at this time not yet a party, were devoted to the ideal of the improvement of man and society by providing the maximum independence in all areas of life. The individual was to be free from the oppressive bonds of state and society. Independent forces and agencies should develop in a variety of forms. In education the government would have to move ahead when private resources fell short, but room should be provided for the establishment of schools independent of the activities of the state.

The Roman Catholics opposed a national system of state schools on the grounds of the natural right and sacred duty of parents to judge which schools are suitable for their children. However, appraising realistically their political influence at the time, their main effort was directed toward eliminating the denominationalism prevalent in the public schools of the day.

The anti-revolutionists, represented by Groen van Prinsterer, held that parents must be enabled to follow God's call. They should not be forced to send their children to schools which they are convinced are un-Christian.

These views were opposed by the conservatives who sought to retain a universal general Christian education for all. If the freedom of education was supported by liberals, Catholics, and anti-revolutionarians each for their own somewhat different reasons, the protestant middle group and especially the Synodal Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church sought a general Christian education for all but which would show due respect for everyone's religious principles.

But just as there were differing conceptions of freedom in relation to the schools, so there were differences in interpreting the "due respect" clause. Did it mean complete neutrality? How could the teacher in the school fulfill his task if it meant that nothing could be said that would conflict with the religious beliefs of someone or other? How could public education be maintained at a standard that would compete with the freedom of independent schools to express fundamental convictions? What was the character of the Dutch nation? What did respect for others' views mean beyond a religiously neutral educational principle equally appropriate to private as well as to public schools?

In response to these questions there were conflicting views, some denominational and others neutralistic. Within the denominationalist camp some held that since Christianity was the basis of Dutch culture, its principles should be an essential of public schooling. Particular doctrines should not be taught; the seeds of later intolerance should not be sown; but the school should promote morality and religion and belief in the great truths on which Christians agree. Another view, however, held that Christianity without the proper mention of the Christ of God had no value. The Bible was not to be used just as another school book but as the voice of God imparting a distinctive commitment to all teaching.

Within the neutralist camp were the liberals who acknowledge the Christian basis of morality and Dutch culture but held that this did not need to be strengthened by law. To do so would open the door to competition between denominations seeking an official interpretation favorable to their view. Another view rejected the idea of a Christian state, of an official school Christianity. The public school should be neutral; the private school would allow the full spirit of the Gospels in the intercourse of teacher and parent.

We cannot deal with the complicated discussions and proposed enactments that made an effort to come to some common agreement about the religious character of the public school. After efforts to obtain a primary education act in 1849, 1854, and in 1855, a compromise position was reached in 1857, under the leadership of Van der Brugghen who represented a conciliatory, ethical brand of Calvinism. The state school was to give no religious education. According to Van de Brugghen, "The instruction in Christian virtues of the Act of 1857 can . . . no longer be . . . the inculcation of religious conceptions about virtue and its principle which, according to this or that way of thinking, are considered to constitute Christianity; it can only be the practical appreciation, respect, preservation, hollowing of blossoms or fruits grown on plants which elsewhere have been sown, cultivated and reared by the care of parental love, by the care of the church." What is indicated here is not at all a common Christianity above religious dissention, which was Thorbecke's idea. It is rather a "common treasure . . . of more or less intellectually developed conscience, of Christian conscience, the awareness of which exists in all hearts, even where there is a great difference in intellectual opinion or in doctrinal conception."[58]

In regard to "the respect due to the religious concepts of those of other convictions" this is now taken to mean that "respect" refers to the right of others to hold their religious views. "If I respect the religious feelings of another, I do not always therefore respect the content of his feelings, but I respect the right he has, as much as I, to have a personal opinion on religious matters."[59] This is different from a stronger meaning of "respect" referring to an attitude of admiration, high esteem, reverence toward a matter of higher spiritual order. The meaning of "respect" has been given a more secular turn.

In the 1857 Act the school was not only to exclude the doctrinal spects of religion as was the case in the Act of 1806. The entire subject of religious instruction was reserved to the task of the church. In this way the universal public school was to be open to all children without distinction as to religious denomination. The "future citizens of the state, growing up together, were also taught in the same national schools, so that the bonds of unity and mutual benevolent intercourse were, in this way, laid down already at an early age."[60]

State subsidy was not provided for private education in 1857 although private schools could receive grants from municipal or provincial sources. "The school of the parents" fully subsidized from state funds was a still later development.

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[58] Idenburg, p. 97.

[59] Idenburg, p. 98.

[60] Idenburg, p. 99.

The development of educational policy in the last half of the nineteenth century was influenced by a number of broad cultural movements and the consequences of these movements for the character of religious commitments. The advance of scientific knowledge and of the scientific attitude, the attention to historical-critical research, the growth of critical theology, the growth of political liberalism and of socialism, among other cultural tendencies, began to influence the denominational distinctions and principles inherited from earlier periods. Political parties in the modern sense began to appear in the late 1870s. These movements increasingly came to bear upon the alignment of groups and their influence upon the direction of educational policy. The increasing neutralization of the public school brought with it the movement for the state supported denominational school. The controversy over these denominational schools dominated the internal affairs of the Netherlands from about 1870 to the pacification of 1920.

The last half of the nineteenth century saw the increasing neutralization of the public school. The movement in this direction was primarily that of the new generation of liberals. They began more and more to express an active cultural policy favoring an increasing trust in rational deliberation rather than an appeal to religious doctrine in coming to grips with human problems, an optimistic view of man's ability to control the direction of human affairs, a new and more critical morality. They sought to use the state as an instrument for raising the level of public understanding. The liberal leader, Kappeyne van de Coppello expressed this view. "Only from the state can and must there emanate that which is indispensable if the people are continually to increase in knowledge, morality and prosperity." The state may "not leave to chance, to caprice, to the care of no matter what society, that which belongs to it in the first place: education."[61] Although the Roman Catholics who lived outside the predominantly Roman Catholic provinces supported the neutralization of the school in order to remove its protestant bias, and although the anti-revolutionaries considered the use of the term "Christian" in regard to the new tendencies in public education deceptive, they now broke openly with the liberals.

The Education Act of 1878 aimed at the improvement of public education at public expense and laid down higher requirements for private education while denying support to confessional schools. The double burden of increased taxes for the public school, which they did not want, and more support from private sources for their own schools reinforced the growing coalition of the Catholic and conservative Calvinist forces. This was brought to a head in the People's Petition in response to the Act of 1878. The movement for state support of the school of the parents' choice, the "school with the Bible," was clearly articulated. Since the Roman Catholics, who had become increasingly powerful politically in the second half of the nineteenth century, also joined the Peoples' Petition, an alignment of forces was created that would overcome the liberals' support of the public school. More and more the power was shifting from those who affirmed the public school to be the rule and the private school the complement to those who affirmed the private school the rule and the public school the complement.

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[61] Idenburg, pp. 108-9.

The growth of power of the Roman Catholics was an important ingredient of the movement to achieve state subsidy for confessional schools. The early alliance of Dutch Catholics with liberals had made for the first steps in political and civil freedom as well as for the freeing of the public schools from protestant doctrine. In 1880 H. J. A. M. Schaepman became the first Catholic priest to enter Parliament as a member.[62] In 1868 the Dutch Bishops issued a Pastoral Letter on Education in which they stated that "the public neutral school may never be looked upon as anything other than a sad necessity" and clearly urged the growth of the private Catholic school.[63] At that time they had 250 such schools.[64] The rapid growth of Catholic political power resulted in the Catholic-Protestant coalition after the elections of 1888 in which the Catholics and Protestants had a majority of 54 of the 100 seats in the Second Chamber. The coalition lasted until 1925. In 1889 an act introduced the principle of equalization of public and private schools by providing subsidy for the salaries of the obligatory teaching staff in the private school.

The growth of the anti-revolutionary movement from the early period of the Réveil, through the election of Groen van Prinsterer to the States-General of 1840, and into the period of the forming of the Anti-Revolutionary Party under Abraham Kuyper's leadership in 1878 is an important chapter in the development of Dutch educational policy. The Revival, dating from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was a part of a broader European movement of a vigorously personal and evangelistic character seeking to return to the old profession of faith which supported the war against Spain and the founding of the Old Republic. It emphasized in addition to personal living faith and piety, the divine authority of the Bible, the divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of original sin. As developed by Groen van Prinsterer it announced, "Against the revolution, the Gospels." Above the sovereignty of man is the sovereignty and omnipotence of God.

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[62] W. A. M. van Eekeren, *The Catholic People's Party in the Netherlands*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1956, p. 29.

[63] Idenburg, pp. 108-9.

[64] van Eekeren, p. 382.

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> The Bible is the book of books, especially in the antirevolutionary bookery. The new wisdom of our age, even if not flatly rejecting "Revelation," entails that higher judgment (divine authority) is not to be applied to the sphere of constitutional law (staatsrecht). We, however, maintain that the Holy Scriptures indicate the fundamental bases of justice and morality, of authority and freedom from nations and governments. The Bible is the infallible touchstone. Unconditional submission to God's Word has always been a guarantee not only for dutiful obedience, but also for dutiful resistance. No doctrine of proud self-perfection or of gross licentiousness can be in harmony with the pronouncements of the "Revelation." "It is written!" That is the axe which cuts off every root of the revolutionary crop.[65]

This point of view, in the hands of the founder of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, Dr. Abraham Kuyper, became a highly effective political and educational doctrine.

Under Kuyper's leadership the anti-revolutionary movement became not only a party but an entire political-religious-educational way of life. In 1872 a daily paper, in 1878 the Party, in 1880 the Free

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[65] David Friedman, "Political Parties," The Netherlands, edited by B. Landheer, p. 120.

University, in 1886 the secession from the mother church resulting in the Neo-Calvinist Church--all come to a focus in and reinforce the demand for "a school with the Bible" at state expense. In connection with the People's Petition Kuyper placed the campaign for the state supported private school, as the Dutch say, "under the token of the antithesis." That is, the choice is ultimate; there are no middle grounds. One is either for Christianity or against it. "Are you going to vote for or against Christ?" There is a clear-cut division between Christians and non-Christians. Initiated with the People's Petition of 1878, it remains a powerful ingredient in the forming of Dutch policy although it is challenged in the political area by the "doorbraak" (breakthrough) movement represented by the modern socialist party. The "doorbraak" effort, although largely abortive in the years after the second war, remains directed against the antithesis in the area of political and social life. It was not primarily directed against the educational situation.[66] It remains to be seen whether in the future some extension of it to the educational field may emerge.

Another important ingredient of the Anti-Revolutionarian position concerns the belief in "Sovereignty in own circle," which has already been mentioned in our description of the Anti-Revolutionary Party. According to this principle, social life can be divided into several areas or spheres, such as the areas of economics, of law, of education. Each area has its own sovereignty, its own laws. The central principle which binds these independent spheres together is that each is directly responsible to God. Each area should be free, i.e., free from the state in order to be able to practice its own internal freedom in its own circle. The state should make as few rulings as possible in order to provide for maximum internal freedom. Especially in the area of private education the state should withdraw its influence apart from making the school according to the parent's conscience freely available. The conceptions of independent sovereignty under God and of internal freedom within the area of private education were of considerable importance, as we shall see, in the parliamentary debate over the Mammoth Law.

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[66] Idenburg, p. 123.

Although the development of the Anti-Revolutionary Party and its association with the Neo-Calvinist Church was of considerable importance for Dutch educational policy, it was not the only form of Calvinism bearing upon educational policy. The Dutch Reformed Church has contained a range of views relating Calvinism to political life in differing ways. Some, rejecting the extreme form of the antithesis as developed by Kuyper, sought the Christianization of public institutions rather than the dual system of public and private schools. Others have considered dogma less important than the inner expression of identity with the spirit of Christ. The ethical-irenic school, represented by van der Brugghen, was more concerned with the development of a conciliatory attitude within the denomination. As we have seen, the consequence was to search for an educational policy geared to the ethical dimensions of Christian belief rather than a policy flowing from creedal doctrines.

Toward the closing years of the nineteenth century the attitude of the liberals, however, began to change in the direction of providing subsidies for the private schools on the grounds of fairness of treatment rather than rights established by ecclesiastical doctrine. They wanted an end to the school struggle. Although there was still considerable opposition to subsidizing private education on the grounds that it would endanger national unity, subsidies were no longer seen as contrary to the Constitution. The government's continual care for education was given a more generous interpretation. The direction of these changes, including the culmination of the move to equalization in 1920, is indicated in the following statistics:

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS FROM 1850 TO 1958 IN THE NETHERLANDS*

Year	Public	Private	Year	Public	Private
1850	77	23	1910	62	38
1860	79	21	1920	55	45
1870	77	23	1930	38	62
1880	75	25	1950	27	73
1890	71	29	1957	28	72
1900	69	31	1958	28	72

*Idenburg, p. 122.

Professor Idenburg, Director-General of Statistics, has supplied a graphic picture of the enrollments in public and private schools in the years before and after the "pacification." One observes the very rapid increase in private education at all levels of education--primary, elementary, and secondary--following the equalization of 1920. He

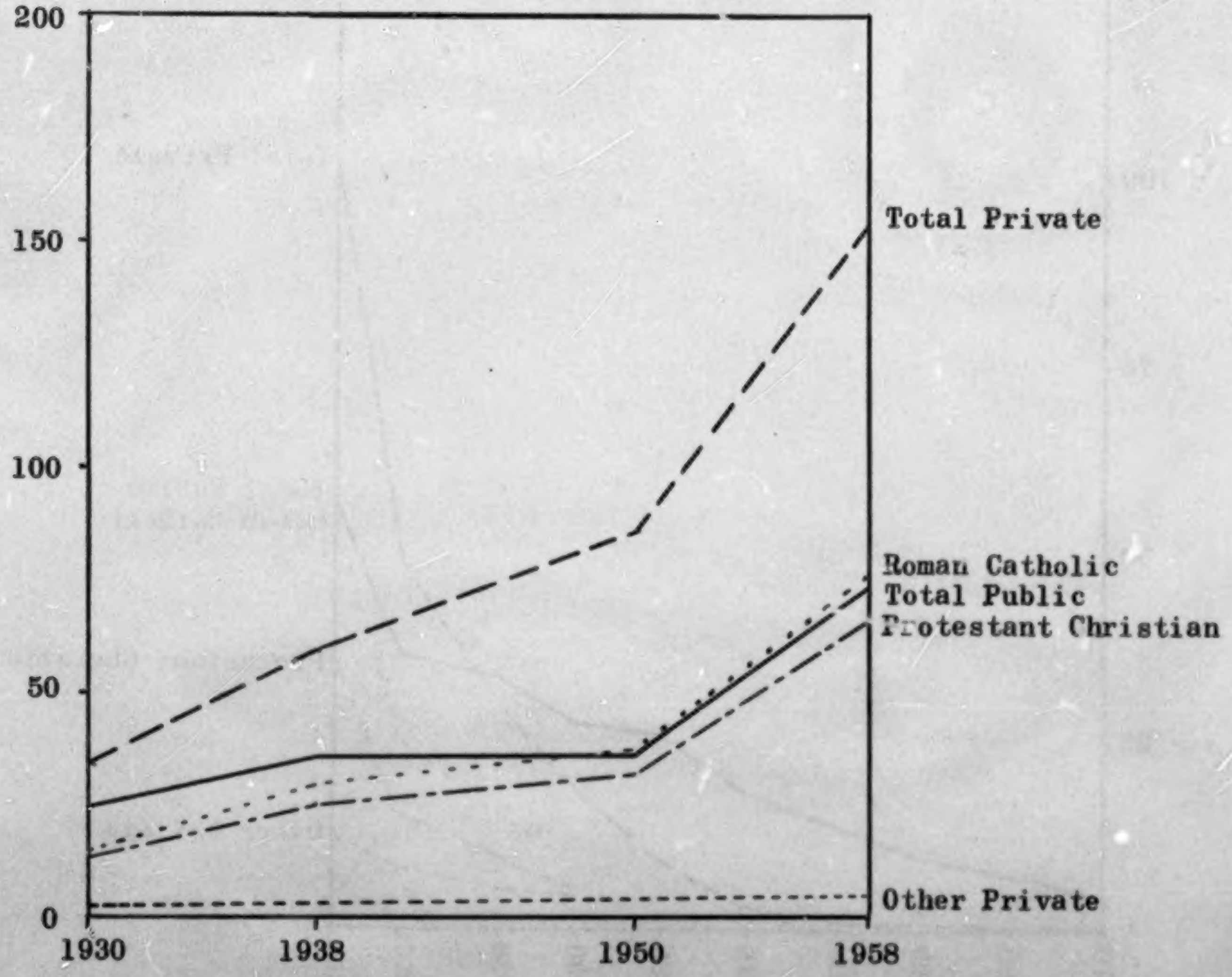

Figure 3. Enrollments in Dutch Secondary Schools Not Pre-University, 1930-1958* (i.e., Continued Secondary Education) Pupils in Public and Private Schools (X 1000)

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*Idenburg, p. 119.

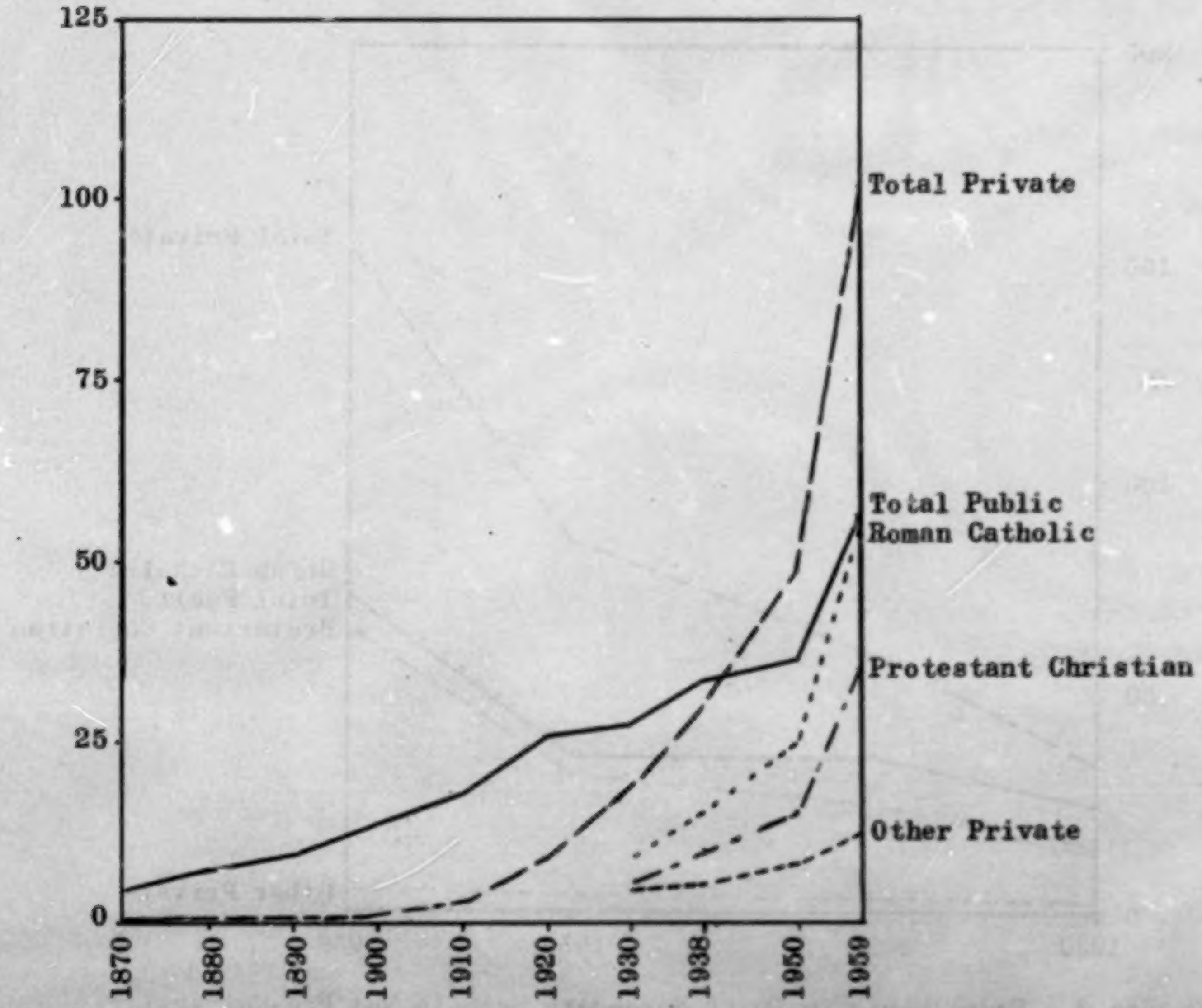

Figure 4. Enrollments in Dutch Secondary Schools Leading to the University, 1870-1959* - Pupils in Public and Private Schools (X 1000)

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*Idenburg, p. 119.

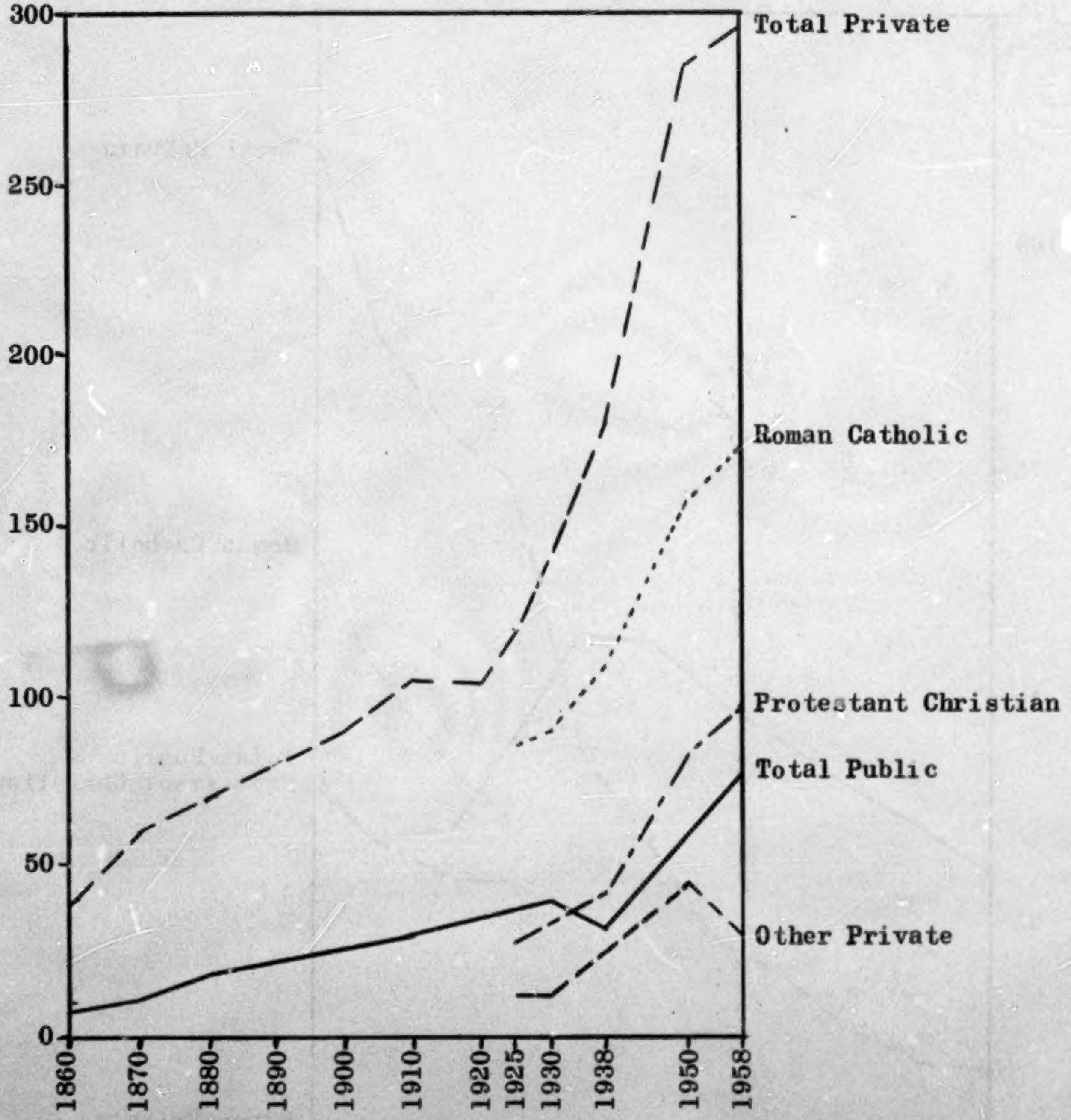

Figure 5. Enrollments in Dutch Infants' Education, 1860-1958* - Pupils in Public and Private Schools (X 1000)

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*Phillip J. Idenburg, Schets van Het Nederlandse Schoolwezen (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1960), p. 118.

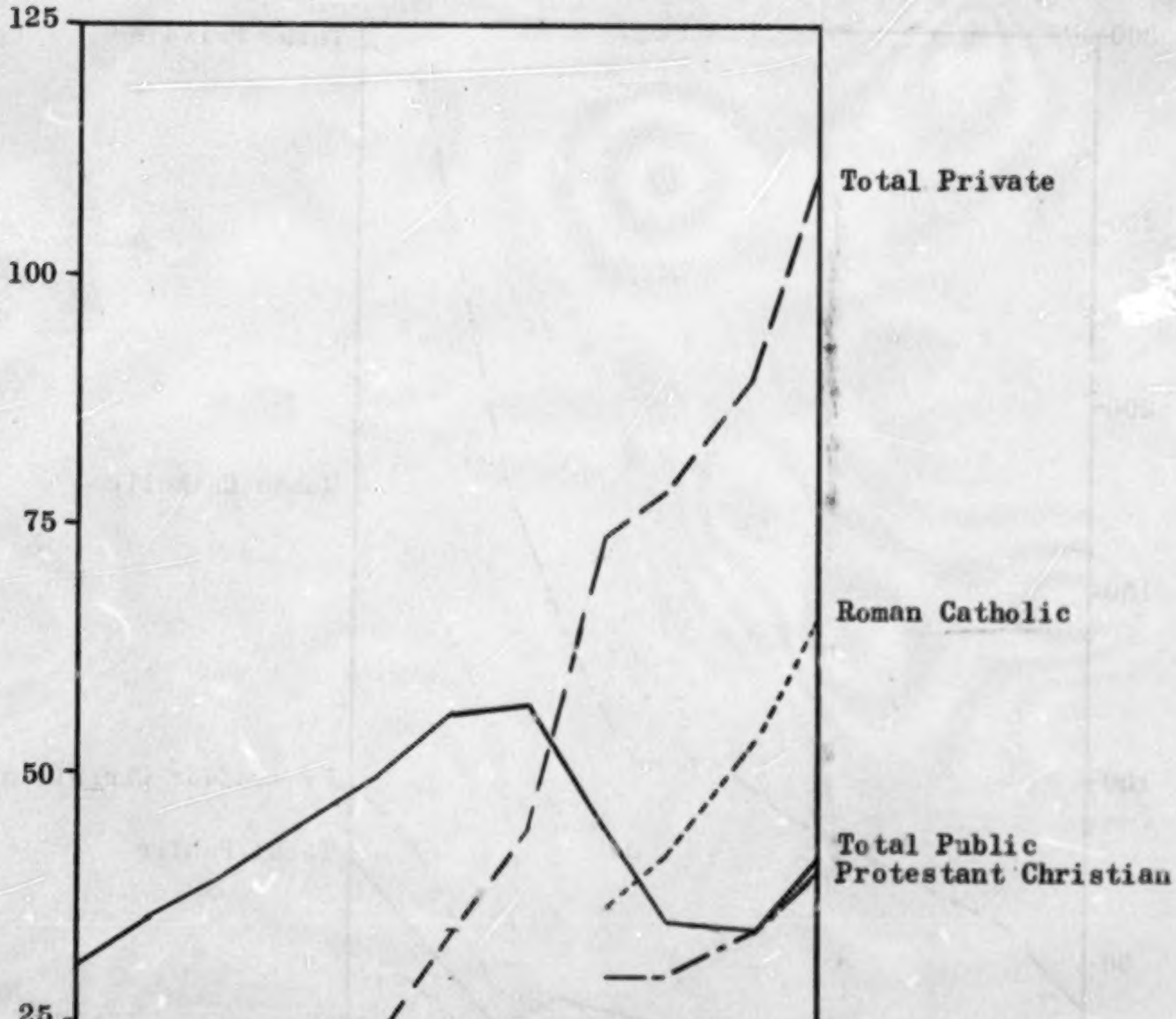

Figure 6. Enrollments in Dutch Primary Education, 1860-1958* - Pupils in Public and Private Schools (X 1000)

reports that the comparative strength of schools within the private sector can only be given for the last part of the period studied.

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*Idenburg, p. 118. (Until 1920, this figure includes advanced primary education, after that ordinary and complementary primary education.)

Professor Idenburg enters a consideration which should not be lost sight of in the interpretation of the significance of these figures. The distribution of students created by the total subsidization of private schools is not identical with what it would be if parents always chose according to the religious belief of the family.

> Children who come from families which live according to Christian tradition attend public and "neutral" private schools, and at the denominational schools there are children from families which do not share the religious conviction expressed in the name of the school. Various teachers in public and "neutral" private schools profess a Christian religion.
>
> . . . .
>
> A strictly dogmatic choice of one system or another will only be made if the parents entertain definite pedagogical opinions; in other cases the parents will look for the school which suits best in the given situation and which is not of the religious trend most different from their own opinions. Within the margin thus created, some parents choose the school which suits geographically, or socially, or which has the best reputation as regards teaching, follows a certain method (Montessori, Dalton) or has the most attractive building.
>
> And so the choice of school is determined by a mixture of motives, of which considerations of principle form one factor.[67]

Although Idenburg does not say so, presumably this wider matrix of choice is more typically found in the more metropolitan areas. Despite this qualification, a reasonable estimate can be made of the relative growth of different kinds of schools in the Netherlands.

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[67] Idenburg, pp. 120-1.

A study completed in 1959 reports the proportionate growth of public and confessional schools since the end of the second world war. Richard L. Wing sums up his study of the statistics in the following way:

> Between 1947 and 1956 at the elementary level, public school enrollment increased at a more rapid rate than either Protestant or Catholic. Protestant schools grew more proportionately than Catholic.
>
> In the U.V.O. (continued primary education) schools the Protestant schools gained more than either Catholic or public. In the training colleges for teachers, public school enrollment has increased more rapidly than the combined enrollment in denominational schools, but the Protestant schools have grown at a higher rate than either the public or Catholic colleges.
>
> In vocational education Protestant and Catholic school enrollments have more than doubled, while the population of public vocational schools has increased about 50 per cent.
>
> In agricultural education enrollment has decreased in public school and increased the most in Protestant schools, followed by Catholics.
>
> The secondary school enrollment has grown fastest in the denominational schools. Public school enrollment here was down from 47 per cent of all students in 1947 to 38 per cent in 1956. Of the confessional schools the Roman Catholic increased enrollment the most, from 26 per cent to 34 per cent of the secondary pupils.

If the totals of these various figures are looked at:

> . . . It appears that the religious schools have had the greatest growth since the war, with the Protestants a bit ahead of the Catholics. The greatest denominational gains are in the vocational and secondary education, over-balancing the public school gains at the elementary level.[68]

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[68] Richard L. Wing, Recent Changes in Dutch Education, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1959, pp. 103-5.

Wing reports that his calculations are based on enrollment figures of various publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics.

We bring our treatment of the historical development of Dutch policy to a close by stating the significance of several key aspects of Dutch experience for the purposes of this study.

Some have observed that the Dutch are a nation of theologians. At least, their patterns of life have frequently derived from theological conflict, and religious issues have pervaded their patterns of social policy. ". . . In no other country have political and religious issues, or for that matter, political and religious conflicts been so closely and consistently connected . . . ."[69] Although a breakthrough, aimed at overcoming the "antithesis" between Christians and non-Christians, has been attempted, it remains restricted in practice to the political field and even there has been opposed by powerful forces seeking to limit its impact.

The spirit of independence, of the autonomy of groups, is deeply rooted in the history of the Dutch people. The phenomenon of vertical pluralism is built upon this brand of individualism and particularly upon the theological doctrine of sovereignty in own sphere. Although there are countervailing forces, they do not seem at this time to have succeeded in their effort to create a new image of national unity.

The policy of equal subsidy for public and private schools was achieved largely through coalitions of confessional-political groups. The history of these alignments suggests that different meanings of basic values—freedom, responsibility, authority, equality—are held by groups with differeing perspectives on social life. This situation poses a number of problems concerning the meaning of the universals that unite a democratic people.

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[69] Friedman, "Political Parties," p. 110.

One cannot read the history of the school struggle in the Netherlands without encountering many of the questions with which Americans are currently concerned and with which their policy must come to grips. In the light of Dutch experience, what is meant when it is proclaimed that we are a Christian people, that we are to respect religious differences, that the policy of separation of church and state should be brought into line with the equal treatment of religious and public schools? To what extent are the conditions of the Dutch pattern of vertical social differentiation present and to be encouraged in American life?

We shall move on to the consideration of some of these questions after noting some aspects of the parliamentary debate over the 1958 Education Bill.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE MAMMOTH LAW

When one looks into the debate in the States-General over the secondary education bill, the so-called Mammoth Law, described briefly in the early pages of this chapter, he sees in operation many of the strands influencing Dutch policy concerning religion and schooling.

One should have in mind the long and complex process reported on pages 233-234 of this report by which a Minister's proposal becomes enacted. The Mammoth Law went through this extended process of discussion before it came before the Second Chamber which has the power to amend bills proposed by the Ministry. The First Chamber has only to accept or reject the bill on the basis of what had been involved in all discussion of it. The legislative process was not completed until February, 1963. Many of the changes involved in the enactment have not yet been carried out, but the policies have been established so that their implementation is now being studied and worked out.

Even before the parliamentary debate there were vigorous reactions from certain Protestant Christian circles on the proposed new structure of secondary education. The primary objection was that the fundamental difference between public and private education was not sufficiently stressed in the bill. The tasks and responsibilities of the state, according to this view, are fundamentally different for public and for private schools. In public education the government should regulate, supervise, and direct the work of the schools. However, for private education the state has only the task of seeing to it that the conditions needed to get public subsidy are fulfilled.

We are interested in the discussion of this difference in the government's relation with public and private schools.[70]

The representatives of the Anti-Revolutionary Party urged that because there was not an adequate difference in the Bill between public and private schools, the Bill was unconstitutional and endangered the freedom of education. They held that education is primarily the task and vocation of the parents. Schools established and run by free societies, i.e., voluntary confessional associations of parents, should develop and be controlled under their own principles. The state has only the function of taking care of their general well-being and, aside from this, of providing schools for those parents who are not sufficiently interested in their educational responsibility. In regard to free, i.e., private, schools, the government finances them but can only require that they be of good standard. It may provide rules for the qualifications of teachers, for their ethical character, for hygienic buildings, for equal salaries in all schools, but beyond these conditions of good quality the control of the state should not interfere.

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[70] A. C. de Ruiter, Kaart van het Onderwijs in Nederland (Chart of Education in the Netherlands) (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1963), pp. 46-54.

Reference was made in the debate in the Second Chamber to a paper prepared by a professor of the anti-revolutionary school of thought who surveyed the historical development of the pacification in relation to the present Bill.[71] Financial equalization, according to this paper, had made possible the realization of the freedom of education. Every word of the Constitution was a guarantee of freedom, freedom bought with blood and tears, freedom for adherents of public education and of private education. In the effort to get a systematic total educational system under one law for secondary education, the Bill violated the constitutional limitations placed on the state in regard to private education. For example, the Bill provides that only with the permission of the Minister can lessons be given in other compulsory subjects. It also prescribes the founding of a committee of parents, the use of experts in administration, the introduction of courses of certain kinds, and many other things that have nothing to do with good quality. If subsidy depends on all these things, the freedom of the private school is jeopardized. The professor feels that for the sake of administrative neatness, the core idea of pluriformity in education is sacrificed. He concludes by expressing a fear of dictatorship in education.

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[71] L. W. G. Scholten, "Verwarring of Dictatuur" ("Confusion or Dictatorship"), Christelijk Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs, XXXVI (April 11, 1959), pp. 509-518.

The discussion in the Second Chamber further reveals that different conceptions of freedom were at stake. The Anti-Revolutionarians and Christian Historians were thinking of freedom in terms of sphere sovereignty. They wanted to be free from the state in order to be able to practice their conception of internal freedom, freedom in their own circle. The Bill, presented by a Roman Catholic Minister, was couched in terms of a more general conception of freedom. He saw that educating children is by nature the duty of parents, but from this he drew another conclusion. The law should provide for the freedom of all education in the way the parents want it. Government should give as much freedom as possible, not only for private education, for education within one's own circle, but for all education, public as well as private.

A number of amendments were introduced seeking to limit the conception of freedom to sovereignty in one's own sphere and to lessen the controls of the government over private schools. The socialists were opposed to them on the grounds that if private education was to accept a one hundred percent subsidy, then they should be prepared to accept a greater measure of state control.

Roman Catholics were interested in the broader conception of freedom because they had in mind, according to the principle of subsidiarity, the establishment of public lawful social organizations in the field of education. These organizations would be able to direct educational policy, not by involving all the steps in the enactment of bills but by a "general measure of decision," a way of taking action in accordance with law but passed much more quickly. The social organizations would be able to confer and agree on issues so that action could be more readily taken. The Roman Catholics and some socialists were in partial agreement, or close to agreement, about the desirability of this move and were hence opposed to the Anti-Revolutionary amendments to limit the role of the state in effecting educational decisions and policies. Hence, the Anti-Revolutionary amendments were defeated.

In the matter of the establishment of lawful organizations for the establishment of educational policy and decisions, organizations which could plan and develop policies without involving full legislative procedure, the preference of the Roman Catholic Party and the Minister encountered opposition from various sources. A spokesman of the Christian Historical Union could not understand how it would work and was supported by a leader of the Liberal Party. A socialist member observed that these free social organization with the status of lawful decision-making bodies would in reality be government. However, since such bodies would not be directly responsible to parliament, they would violate the principles of democratic responsibility. Yet the socialists approved the general notion. They would like to see the already existing Educational Council serve in the suggested capacity. Other Protestant Christian members approved of this suggestion rather than taking a jump into an unknown future, as they expressed it. Consequently, amendments in this direction were accepted.

The Roman Catholic Party and the Minister expressed deep disappointment at this development for they had taken the efficient development of new organizations as an essential condition of the Bill. Rather than endanger the whole Bill, however, they conceded that some change was better than nothing at all. This compensated in a way for the disappointment of the Protestant advocates of private education in their effort to have a clear separate treatment of public and private education.

We have already seen that provisions for state subsidy of private secondary schools are different from those for elementary schools. State support for the founding of elementary schools is automatic; for secondary schools, they must fall within the Ministry's plan for wise use of available funds. There is a provision in the Mammoth Law whereby public secondary schools may not be established apart from the plans of the Ministry. But the provisions are not the same for private secondary schools. The freedom of education means that founding schools by private groups cannot be forbidden, if they pay for them. Privately financed private schools can be founded if they are not within the Minister's plan.

In the parliamentary debate the socialist leader called attention to this situation. There is, he pointed out, an inequality in the chances of establishing public and private secondary schools.[72] Private school interests can start to found a school if they can find some way to finance it; they can then ask each year to be taken into the planning procedure. Once founded, it is clear that the school's chances of being included in the plan and thus subsidized, are much better. The socialist leader proposed an amendment whereby a school which is founded apart from the plan could not get support for a certain number of years and whereby this would pertain to both public and private schools. In this way they would both be on an equal basis.

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[72] de Ruiter, p. 57.

The left wing of the Second Chamber including the Liberal Party warmly approved. The communist leader observed that if the amendment were not approved, he would vote against the entire law for in the specification of the planning procedure the true character of the Bill, is preferential treatment of the private school over the public school, came to light. The Roman Catholic and Protestant parties had a completely different view. They could not approve of measures making private sources finance their own schools for a period of years.

The Minister was in a very difficult situation since he needed the support of the socialists in the passage of the Bill. He acknowledged a certain privileged position for the private school but this was offset by the opportunities growing towns had to make preparations for founding public schools. The vote went against the socialist's amendment. The socialist response was that they took this matter very seriously and would find it difficult to support the Bill. Consequently the Minister made an effort to do something to make the Bill more acceptable to the socialists' position. He submitted the matter to a committee. As a matter of fact, the committee has reported subsequent to the passage of the bill, but the report has met with much opposition. One of the consequences of this entire matter is that the adherents of public education are in the process of organizing for a more positive and spirited defense of public schools.

A further point is of considerable interest in the debate about the Mammoth Law. We have seen that the law on elementary education gave the churches the right to give religious instruction in public schools. The same provision existed in the old law on secondary education. The Minister wanted to preserve this provision in the Mammoth Law.

In general, everyone agreed. However, a member of a very orthodox protestant party thought that the government should not give this right to churches of all kinds. His view was that the government as the servant of God should only permit that kind of religious instruction which is in agreement with the Holy Scriptures.[73] But this view was not general. Most thought that the government should not decide what should be the content and norm of religious education.

But here a problem arose through an amendment proposed by the socialists and supported by many liberals. The amendment proposed that this right be given not only to churches but to "societies on a spiritual foundtion." Concretely this refers to the Humanist League.

The Humanist League had met with some success in the Chamber on previous occasions when questions concerned their place side by side with Protestants and Roman Catholics in providing services in military centers and in prisons. In debates about these matters, the tolerant and understanding attitude of a Roman Catholic spokesman, Father Stokman, had drawn much attention. Now the question concerned the place of the Humanist League in providing spiritual instruction in the public schools. The socialist leader, although not a Humanist, thought that they should have the same opportunity that the churches had in such instruction.

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[73] de Ruiter, p. 65.

The Dutch Reformed Church had expressed its view that the government should leave enough room for people to be humanists. This tolerance, the socialist leader said, derives from the church, not on the grounds of formal constitutional law, but because it is the task of the church to be tolerant to people of different persuasions. But an Anti-Revolutionarian said that the matter was under consideration in the churches. To be obedient to the Gospels means that it is the task of the church to educate people according to the Gospels, and this does not mean giving the humanists the opportunity to have their kind of instruction in schools. A Christian Historian took the view that provisions for soldiers and prisoners, who are grown-ups, were quite different from those that should pertain to children. In general, the Protestant Christian parties were divided on the matter.

This put the Roman Catholic representatives in a difficult situation. They would like to show their tolerance toward the Humanist League, and in so doing support the view of the socialists. However, this might imply that humanist organizations were to be treated on an equal basis with the churches, and there should be no doubt that these organizations when compared with the churches were of a lower order.

The socialists wanted to be in agreement with the Roman Catholics because that would mean that they could obtain the opportunity for the humanists to participate in the spiritual upbringing presented in the school. The socialist leader suggested forming two articles, one for religious education by the churches and the other to cover that of the humanists. The Chamber approved this arrangement and the law now provides that: "In public school pupils whose parents wish it so can have 'vormingsonderwijs' (spiritual instruction) in school rooms by teachers who are appointed by the societies which are admitted for this purpose by the government."[74] Thus the Humanist League, a society with a rather small membership, was able to have its demand for equal opportunity for religious instruction in public schools fulfilled through the cooperation of the Roman Catholic and the Socialist Parties.

It is interesting to note that in the acceptance of the Mammoth Law none of the major parties achieved all that they desired. The Socialists and the Liberals did not achieve the equal treatment of public and private education in regard to the founding of schools. Public school supporters were not able to establish schools apart from the Ministry's planning procedure. The Roman Catholics did not obtain the new social organizations for the determination of educational policy below the level of full parliamentary processes. Their principle of subsidiarity was not adequately provided for in the bill. The Christian Historians and the Anti-Revolutionarians were not pleased with treating private and public education alike as far as the freedom of education was concerned. To them, a Thomistic meaning of freedom was employed rather than the meaning of sphere sovereignty which they found in the Constitution of 1848. Thus each relinquished some demands for the sake of the general advances made possible by the bill. Further compromises may be involved as the practical applications of the new enactment are worked out.

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[74] de Ruiter, p. 69.

DUTCH CRITICISM OF THEIR POLICY

Although the probability of any substantial change in present policy for the support of private education is extremely remote, considerable uneasiness over the full range of consequences associated with this policy is manifest. The dissatisfaction typically focuses upon the columnizing of Dutch society and the educational problems associated with the columns. Yet these difficulties are thought to be the price that one pays for the complete freedom of the parent to send his children to the school of his preference.

> . . . Our country has renounced the attractions of the common school. Our children go to one of several segregated schools. It is possible, in the Netherlands, to start one's life in a Roman Catholic family, to go to a Roman Catholic nursery school, and to spend one's entire school career, including the university, in Roman Catholic institutions. The same is possible for a Protestant child. It is not improbable that during this entire period he never meets a single person who has different convictions. This is the consequence of a principle of freedom consistently applied. But few would for that reason abandon a system which they conceive as a consequence of democracy . . .[75]

Apparently, those who are taking thought about the highly segregated pattern of school life are not willing to reopen the door to the conflict between public and private school interests settled by the pacification of 1920. Although some are critical of the effects of columnizing, this criticism is tempered by a respect for freedom of education as it has been understood and achieved in the Netherlands.

It is clear to the Netherlanders as well as to the visitor that the cost of education is considerably higher in a system of many diverse schools side by side than it would be for a single system of larger schools. At first glance it may seem curious to a visitor that a country with such a high regard for thrift should prefer to maintain a large number of small schools. But the Dutch regard for religious diversity, expressed in the freedom to found the school of one's choice, outweighs the economic consideration. It is also sometimes observed that, quite apart from the question of columns, the Dutch do not prefer large schools. It is difficult to assess this claim for some schools in the Netherlands are fairly large and average school size alone is a somewhat questionable index. It is more commonly acknowledged that the small school is a consequence of the religious settlement and that this is part of the price of Dutch devotion to commitments.

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[75] Philip G. Idenburg, "Financial Equalization in the Netherlands," Yearbook of Education, edited by Robert King Hall and J. A. Lauwerys (Yonkers: World Book Co., 1956), p. 418.

Some are critical of these policies on the grounds that they contribute to extensive state control and the present low level of local interest and incentive. They see education in the Netherlands as under tension between forces that tend to centralized authority and those that move toward greater responsibility for individual and local diversity. Idenburg devotes considerable attention to this matter, both historically and in connection with contemporary expansion of state controls.

With the purposes of this study in mind, it should be observed that in this matter many other factors than those directly associated with policies governing religion and schooling are involved. Practices concerning the admission of students to the next higher level of their education, particularly the policy of uniform final examinations, promote the dominant role of centralized authority. For example, it is laid down in central directives exactly which formulas in chemistry should be mastered and what should be taught before the next step is to be taken. However, it seems clear that part of what contributes to the domination of centralized authority flows from policy concerning religion and the schools.

We have seen that considerable criticism of the Mammoth Law developed from its extended interpretation of the qualities of good standing and excellence that a private school should have in order to receive subsidy. In short, if the state is to subsidize private schools, Dutch experience indicates a large measure of central control in seeing to it that the non-religious aspects of the school are of high quality.

Professor Idenburg notes that this centralized control is needed to avoid disparities between public and private schools, between urban and rural schools, and between schools in prosperous and less prosperous communities, particularly at the higher levels of education.

> The result is that, despite the democratic structure of the municipal administration and the imposing number of schools founded by local church and other organizations, the communities can no longer feel that they possess and direct their own schools. State supervision is so all-embracing that local control is no longer possible. The state provides the necessary finances, and the state decides very largely what will be taught. The disconcerting feature that this situation has come to be accepted so unquestioningly by the majority of the people that there is no likelihood of a revolt against the system. Many teachers fear that the standards of education would decline should the state slacken the reins, and parents are wary of experiments that might possibly endanger the future of their children.[76]

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[76] P. J. Idenburg, "Democracy and Education in the Netherlands," Delta, III.(Spring, 1960), pp. 16-17.

In the Netherlands there is a lack of participation by citizens in educational decision and policy in spite of the slogan of "the school of the parents' choice," and some feel that this results in part from readily available state funds for private schools.

There is also some dissatisfaction with patterns of teacher education particularly as they relate to policy about religion and schooling and the influence of the columns on Dutch education. Here one must have in mind the difference between two kinds of secondary education: elaborated or continued primary education and pre-university secondary education. Teachers for the latter are trained in the disciplines of the university with a minimal attention to the study of professional education. Teachers of continued elementary education as well as of elementary schools are trained at "kweekschoolen," teacher training colleges. Each of these two separate kinds of teachers, functioning in different kinds of schools, has its own professional organization, its own journal, its different status in society. The teachers prepared at the "kweekschoolen" attend public or nonconfessional, or Roman Catholic, or Protestant training colleges. The work of these colleges and the educational research associated with it is promoted by Pedagogical Centers which are also divided into Roman Catholic, Protestant, and netural Centers. These Centers have not yet clearly defined the way in which they related to pre-university secondary education.

It has apparently been very difficult to achieve educational research as we know it in the United States. The sharp separations between teachers of elementary and of pre-university secondary education and of training colleges into columns have tended to prevent opportunities for research. Research into educational problems within the columnized patterns of teacher education is limited because if one institution is to be granted funds for a research project, the corresponding institutions of the other columns must also be funded. There is a preponderance of duplication rather than cooperation of effort. Thus the influence of Dutch policy about religion and schooling extends deeply into the patterns of teacher education and into efforts to promote research in education.

It is also of interest that the failure in the legislature to provide an equal opportunity for the founding of public schools has resulted in an effort to organize a society to articulate and promote the interests of the public school.

It will be recalled that in the Mammoth Law the Educational Minister's annual plan for the establishment of secondary schools is a means of establishing the priorities for the building of schools. Apart from the planning procedure, a group of parents may take the initiative in building a private secondary school, but this opportunity to take initiative is not provided for adherents of public schools. The planning procedure exists in large part to provide preference in initiative to confessional school interests. This use of the planning procedure met with considerable criticism from the friends of public education.

As a result of what was felt to be an inadequate attention to the interests of the public school, an organization called "The Foundation for Promoting Public Education" was formed. On December 19, 1963, it founded in Amsterdam a "Center of Contacts" for considering the situation in which public education finds itself under the new law, for coordinating and planning the activities of groups interested in public education, and for expressing to the Ministry the interests of supporters of the public school as the provisions of the Mammoth Law are gradually put into practice.[77]

A number of articles are appearing in professional magazines and also in the papers protesting what is felt to be discrimination against public education. One of these, for example, appeared in a socialist weekly paper called *Vrij Nederlands* (*Free Netherlands*) for April 18, 1964, and was reprinted in the magazine of the society of neutral teachers.[78] Since the piece reveals rather clearly the current challenge to some aspects of Dutch policy, we offer a rather free but detailed translation of its content.

> An article appearing in 1963 raised the question of who should administer the Educational Ministry. It expressed the view that it should be an advocate of public education.
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> Unfortunately, this remained only a wish. Again for four years the Educational Ministry is headed by a Roman Catholic unless there is a cabinet crisis. Thus the largest Dutch enterprise with the largest part of the national budget will have been administered for sixteen years by a Roman Catholic. Can one expect that he will do more than serve the interest of public education at a technical level? Such a minister cannot have any idea about the importance of public education. Clearly Protestant Christian schools are closer to his heart than schools of the third column. We do not doubt the integrity of the present or of the former minister, but how will public education ever go well when for one period after another the policy

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[77] *Weekblad van de A.V.M.O.* (*Weekly Magazine of the Neutral Teachers Organization for Teachers of Preparatory Higher and Secondary Education*), LVII (February 7, 1964), pp. 513-515.

[78] A. Hegs, "Discriminatie voor de openbare scholen--Wie Bezet de Onderwijstroon?" ("Discrimination Against the Public School--Who Occupies the Throne of Education?"), *Weekblad van de A.V.M.O.*, LVII (May 15, 1964), pp. 912-914.

> of this important ministry is defined by a convinced advocate of denominational education? A former prime minister, a socialist, has written, "We could not maintain all of our seats in the cabinet and the Catholic Party wanted in any case the department of education."
>
> It is a political secret that with any cabinet formation, denominational parties demand the Ministry of Education. Why? Because this is the most important ministry. Always it is true that he who has youth has the future. Since 1920 the department of education has been nearly without interruption in the hands of denominational ministers. Only recently one put the question, whether a Roman Catholic could be permitted to become a queen. It is much more important to ask whether the throne of education could be taken for a certain period by a socialist or a liberal.[79]

The article continues by asking whether the Liberal and the Labor Parties are sufficiently alert to this concern and whether the new law on secondary education did not discriminate against public education.

The article expresses alarm that in the discussion of the education budget of 1964 it was clear that no adequate attention was given to the public school in those areas where only one school can be provided. In its character it ought to be open to children of different denominational views. The article is concerned that the annual Royal Report of the Ministry is one-sided in reporting only the work of the Roman Catholic Pedagogical Center. It points out that the governmental statistics for 1962-63 concerning the number of pupils in elaborated primary education show a decrease of 1.2 percent in public education, a decrease of .3 percent in Protestant Christian education, and an advance of 1.4 percent in Roman Catholic schools. Reference is made to an instance in which public school interests felt that inadequate illumination was provided in the construction of a public school and was corrected only after considerable protest.

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[79] It may be recalled that at this time the Dutch people were concerned with the incident created by the marriage of Princess Irene, second in line of succession of the Dutch Princesses, to Don Carlos, one of the pretenders to the Spanish throne and a Roman Catholic.

These details are mentioned to show that there is an active concern with what is felt to be a pattern of many-sided discrimination against the public school.

There is in the Netherlands another movement of considerable interest to the purposes of this project. This is a movement in Roman Catholic circles in which basic questions are raised concerning the reason for the Roman Catholic school.

In 1963 there appeared five volumes entitled Welvaart, Welzijn, en Geluk (Welfare, Wellbeing, and Happiness) expressing a Catholic view of Dutch society. They are issued under the auspices of a Roman Catholic council for considering social and economic issues. The Council consists of representatives of: The Netherlands Catholic Federation of Trade Unions, the Netherlands Catholic Employers Union, the Catholic Netherlands Farmers' and Growers' Union, the Netherlands Catholic Middle Class League, the Saint Adelbert Society, and The Catholic State-Organization for Middle Class Employees. The editors are prominent Roman Catholic laymen and specialists; the constituent parts of the work being under their responsibility rather than signed by particular authors. Part IV, Section V, is entitled "Sociaal-Culturele Beleidsvragen" ("Questions about Social-Cultural Policy"). We are particularly interested in Chapter II entitled "Kernvraagstukken van Vernieuwend Onderwijsbeleid" ("Core Problems of Progressive Educational Management").[80]

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[80] J. A. Ponsionen, G. M. J. Veldkamp, and W. K. N. Schmelzer (editors), Welvaart, Welzijn en Geluk (Hilversum-Antwerpen: Paul Brand, 1963).

The chapter places the discussion of the Roman Catholic school within the context of the total range of considerations of public policy. It discusses questions concerning the place of education in modern society in general, in the Dutch constitutional system, and in relation to the Church. It discusses first the social function of present day education.

According to this view, it does not make sense to talk of the aim of the school in abstract terms. There are only concrete schools in situations of time and place. School systems develop in response to the culture. Schools in the middle ages were completely different from Dutch schools today. One should take a dynamic view toward education which does not see it as always the same. The school should be responsive to the conditions and needs of the day.

For the Netherlands this means educating people for the kind of life they live today. The authors are challenging the view, extremely common in Dutch pre-university secondary education, that education is the cultivation of the individual and has nothing to do with social conditions. They decry what they call "the myth of disinterested education," the view that education is merely individual improvement, typically, in its highest form, through the study of the classics, unrelated to the needs of society. They criticize the view of culture involved in this attitude, a view which sees it as a thin upper veneer, a status symbol. The authors are urging a social or cultural interpretation of education which brings it into relationship with the social realities of the day. And they argue that the Mammoth Law makes a serious attempt to move in this direction.

As they see it, the core of these considerations is found in how the Dutch people think of the freedom of education. Traditionally free education was identified with denominational education; education was free because it was denominational. To the contrary, education by nature and by the Dutch constitution is free and because of this it may be denominational. Education derives from the social nature of man and is in its nature a social good. The freedom of education is a deeper value than the more limited historical identification of freedom with confessional education. Public education is also within this deeper meaning free.

Furthermore, according to the Dutch constitution, government has an active role to play in caring for education and this means that it should not wait for private initiative but should take the lead in judging what should be done for the whole society. Today it must include what is best for all. The premise of starting with one's "own circle" (sphere sovereignty) is an anachronism. Education is now a part of general human culture and one must break with those aspects of the past which paralyze the kind of cooperation needed today.

According to this view, financial equalization at the time of its establishment was an instance of cooperation in order to achieve equality of opportunity. But now, with the dominance of private education it must accept responsibility not only for education of one's "own circle" but for the education of all the Dutch people. This is other and more than the sum total of each group's responsibility to its own circle. The principle of financial equalization means that each circle bears responsibility for the totality of the Dutch people. Complete subsidy means that all take an interest in the way the money is used. It is no longer the old business of everyone getting as much subsidy as possible in order to go his own unrestricted way. Private education is semi-public education.

Thus, the questions of the relations between the school and the state come down to problems about freedom. Freedom is not just a matter of providing money to private groups and leaving them alone to spend it as they wish. It concerns the nature of the total management of a school in the public interest, equally a concern in private as well as public education. The old notion of the antithesis of private education on the one hand and the government with its public school on the other hand is no longer relevant or tenable.

Moreover, the authors are saying that the older conception about the control of education is no longer tenable. The idea that the state controls public education but only provides money for private schools which--aside from a few matters concerning adequate sanitation, good moral character of teachers, equal pay and the like--are controlled by private groups is no longer realistic or adequate. The pages contain much discussion of the terminology of the enactments, but the main point is that "the requirements of good quality," which private schools must meet to qualify for subsidy, refer purely to educational conditions and arrangements which are identical for private and public education. The idea of a highly individualistic freedom from the interference of the state for private education is no longer an adequate policy for the present day. That everyone should only be interested in his own (denominational) school and not interested in the others is as anachronistic as the conception of freedom of education "in own circle" and of the antithesis between state or public and "own circle" or private. A new conception of cooperation is called for, and the state is a thorough partner in it.

According to this view, the Catholic Church as an institution, i.e., the ecclesiastical hierarchy embodied in the Dutch Episcopacy, should be distinguished from the educational tasks of Catholic laymen. The activities of the Church--preaching, the sacraments, worship, the care of the spirit and the saving of souls--do not derive from sources in this world but from another, although they occur in this world. The school, on the other hand, is of as well as in this world. The two orders should not be interchanged. The Church should Christianize the school, but that does not mean that it should confuse the work of the school with the activities of the Church. Conditions may be such that a country needs denominational schools; they may also be such that such schools should not be present. Even if separate Roman Catholic schools are necessary and desirable they should be managed and taught by laymen. This viewpoint questions whether circumstances in former periods that justified church schools in the Netherlands continue to exist today; it suggests that times and conditions have changed so that the hierarchy should withdraw from the school business and leave it to Roman Catholic believers as their own social work.

This position, while respecting the Church, does not devolve from argumentum ex auctoritate, from exegesis of the encyclicals or ecclesiastical law, or from judgments of the bishops in these matters. Not only do these ecclesiastical documents not have a completely binding force, but they all must be interpreted in terms of the times and conditions within which they appeared. What may be appropriate in one time may not be so in another.

It may be that when the public school in the Netherlands had a marked liberal protestant character, Roman Catholics as well as Orthodox Protestants needed their own denominational schools. There was not sufficient tolerance in certain periods and this led to the columnizing of patterns of life commitments. But should we have a denominational school today?

The analysis continues by calling attention to two traditional motivations or arguments for the denominational school. One has a positive character. It urges that religious conviction should be evident in all parts of education; the school should be pervaded with this view of life. The other is negative as well as positive. It holds that a closed or protected milieu, steeped in one's own religious conviction, should isolate the pupil from other views and that this is necessary to teaching that maintains the faith.

But the acceptance of conviction may be as well or perhaps better reached by confrontation, even collision and conflict with other views. Further, first-hand confrontation is both more real and more effective than second-hand representation of it and hence pedagogically recommended. Furthermore, questions about securing conviction are not answerable from abstract premises but from pedagogical experience; they are pedagogical problems. Concerning the argument about pervading the school with a religious faith, it is much more important that the rest of life, especially the family and the church, provide and support real religious conviction.

But, this position continues, what do we mean by a Catholic school and what makes a school Catholic? The answer moves in the direction that we have no clear normative and empirical basis in public policy for the distinctive basis for a Catholic school; in short, that a good Catholic school would hardly be distinguishable from a good (public) school. The discussion of the response to the question is rather long and involved, but comes down to something like the following.

It cannot be the presence of rituals and ceremonies which identifies a Catholic school. If this were the case, the pupil, identifying them with schooling, would do an injustice to their sacred character. It cannot be the teaching of religion as a subject, for this matter is full of problems, and a school can be Catholic without the subject, religion, in its curriculum. It cannot be a general atmosphere of good human relations for this does not distinguish between Catholic and other schools. Is it then the way "levensbeschouwelijk" (considerations about outlook toward life) are brought into the other and especially the less secular subjects? Should a Catholic Luther be different from a Protestant Luther? But this is a matter of the educational control of value judgments. In these matters the child should not be handicapped by a lack of confrontation with differences in ways of thinking. Matters of life conviction are personal decisions; one cannot enforce them; the school can only provide leads to thinking that results in personal choice. The isolation and the protective insulation of the columnized school is disadvantageous for the modern society of pluriformity.

In this view, these considerations mean that the problem of the Catholic school is an educational and sociological problem rather than a matter of Catholic principle. A non-Catholic school is an important possibility for a Catholic child. Such a school is not devoid of opportunity to reach conviction, but it should provide this fullness of opportunity in the context of diverse thinking. Its teachers should with honesty, respect, and intellectual integrity promote the understanding of convictions. The new times call for what might be called an ecumenic school.

The reader should realize that the account of the point of view just represented here is much abbreviated. It is also presented in much more direct statement than is contained in the manner of presentation of the original. He should also understand that this point of view is a minority view in Roman Catholic circles. However, the position received attention in the legislative debate about the budget of education. One of the leaders of the Socialist Party observed that the point of view expressed in the volume had impressed him very much because it opened the possibility for a discussion with people of differing religious persuasions. Representatives of the Catholic Party were not uniformly confident of the grounds for opening this new dimension of discussion about the denominational schools. A former Roman Catholic member of the Second Chamber stated publically his opinion that both public and private schools served the public interest and that the time had come for advocates of both to cooperate instead of struggling. This cooperation should be based on a public policy offering equal chances for development to the public school.

It might be well to recall that Professor Wielenga, representing the Calvinist point of view, wrote a few years ago that Christian schools and teachers in them tend to the conservative. Further, the board of the school association, which is the controlling group, is made up of those who are not professional educators and tend to be tradition-minded. They are likely to be suspicious and to have reservations about modern trends which depart from prevailing practices.[81] This observation seems to pertain to the general range of religiously oriented schools in the Netherlands.

On the other hand, the position expressed in the volume of Welfare, Wellbeing, and Happiness has also been expressed elsewhere. A paper presented before a Catholic Schoolmasters Society, consisting of pre-university secondary school people, raised some questions of the same order.

> . . . You find yourselves in a country whose strong liberal school legislation stands out as an object of jealousy--of holy jealousy to be sure--on the part of those responsible for Catholic education in other countries.[82]

After observing that the Dutch have achieved a famous financial equality, he observes that "some come to ask themselves whether this situation is really ideal."

The author observes that the encyclical, Divini Illius Magistri of Pius XI (1929) was placed by the Archbishop of Utrecht in its historic setting, a period of "a fascist state all powerful and monopolistic, which hoarded all of its youth in order to enslave it to its political system."[83] Church law of the period emphasized the educational responsibility of the Church as the only institution capable of acting as a countervailing force to the totalitarianism of Mussolini's state. The encyclical restated the text of Canon 1374 of the Code of Canon Law which provided that the diocesan bishop is invested with the right to decide whether attendance at a mixed school may be tolerated after observing precautions against the danger of corruption that attendance at these schools involves. The author observes that the common component of the words "danger," "corruption," and "to tolerate" is the idea of defense, of fear, of a "citadel" church protecting those inside her walls.

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[81] Geert Wielenga, "The Christian Schools of the Netherlands," Ch. 11, Yearbook of Education, 1956, p. 220.

[82] André de Beurs, "La Situation Actuelle de l'Ecole Catholique en Europe Occidentale: Quelques reflexions sur les Raisons d'etre de l'Ecole Catholique," Sint-Bonaventura, XXX (December 13, 1964), p. 1167.

de Beurs points out that the sense of the words of the encyclical and the Code of Canon Law, although they may have been appropriate in the defense against totalitarianisms of their day, may be inappropriate to the tasks of the Church in the 1960s. He quotes from the letter of June 10, 1963, of Pope John XXIII to the bishops of the world:

> To have remained faithful to the purity of the Gospel, to Tradition, to the Fathers of the Church, and to the Roman Popes, is assuredly a great grace, a title of merit and honor. But this is not sufficient for the accomplishment of our Lord's percept, when he said to us: "Go and teach all the nations," or again a similar passage in the Old Testament: "he has entrusted to each the care of his neighbor."[84]

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[83] de Beurs, p. 1168.

[84] de Beurs, p. 1169.

The Church today is speaking less of "dangers," "corruption," and of "tolerance" of others and engaging more in a fraternal dialogue with "men who are all on the road that leads to Christ." The Church in the days of the modern Vatican Council is seeking new routes, demolishing the walls of separatism, reflecting upon the faults that human weakness has been able to commit in her name. Catholic schools will not remain outside this movement.

The author paints in broad strokes the financial problems facing Catholic education particularly in view of the population explosion, the increasing need for higher and technical education, the probable limits of state financial support, and the problems Catholic education will have in deciding a just basis for trying, as it must, to fulfill selectively its educational tasks. He urges facing these realities realizing that the Catholic school will be cornered by expenditures surpassing by far what it now demands from its families.

But when the financial problems are solved by 100 percent subsidy as they are in the Netherlands, how does one assess the consequences? He is particularly concerned with two. (1) The close bond between the family and the school is no longer there. "The family has forgotten to get itself interested in an institution which it hardly considers its affair . . . ."[85] (2) The school does not lead to a deeper experience and knowledge of God. The system is an obstacle to this achievement; it is self-defeating. The process profanes the objective.

Finally, when the question was put to a group of thoughtful, convinced Catholics: "If one were to fight over again this fight over education, do you think the result would be the same: Catholic school for Catholics, protestant schools for protestants, and public schools for the rest?", the answer of all those present was: "No, no more such separation." Several thought that the present system in the Netherlands would probably be transformed in a few decades.

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[85] de Beurs, p. 1175.

The author thinks that the day will come when "we no longer fear one another, where the old separation and mistrusts will be surpassed, where we shall make the happy discovery of all that men have in common." This predicts that the concept of neutrality will no longer be what it has been in the past. "It will no longer be a notion of a vacuum, a misinterpretation which amounts to emptiness, the negation of all positive faith, of all religious conviction. The idea of neutrality is in the process of evolving toward a positive conception of a respect of equality in all religious or philosophic convictions. One hopes then that a change of climate will take place in public schools."[86]

We have seen that there seem to be movements of thought within liberal circles in the Netherlands which express seriously considered dissatisfaction with some of the consequences of present Dutch policy. That these criticisms will result in any marked change in the immediate future in the policy of full subsidization, however, seems doubtful.

SIGNIFICANCE OF DUTCH EXPERIENCE FOR AMERICAN POLICY

One of the fundamental questions to be confronted in the designing of American policy concerns the extent to which American conditions and the direction of national policy encourage the columnizing of our society. An American sociologist who was a Fulbright lecturer in 1957-1958 at the University of Groningen reports that he and others are of the opinion that the forming of columns could become the future pattern of our country.

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[86] de Beurs, p. 1177.

> Certain forces in American society appear either to be planned intentionally to establish vertical pluralism in America or to have latent consequences that may result in it. The historical events and social forces that led to Dutch vertical pluralism and certain analogous trends in contemporary American society support this conclusion.[87]

Moberg indicates that he is using the term "vertical pluralism" following the precedent of Michael P. Fogarty in his Christian Democracy in Western Europe.[88] However, Fogarty's interpretation and appraisal of vertical pluralism, expressing the point of view of a Roman Catholic Christian Democrat, is very different from that of Moberg and other sociologists reported in earlier pages of this report. Moberg believes that although there are differences between the two countries, we are now experiencing a period of social trends analogous to those of the Netherlands in the period of the forming of the columns.

He points to an increasing identification of the American people in terms of their membership in Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish subcultures as evidence that vertical pluralism is growing in this country. Religious subcultural identifications are replacing earlier identifications by nationality. The growth of these identifications is aided by favorable attitudes toward cultural pluralism. Sharp differences between religious groups tend to dominate the way in which problems of public policy are considered and managed. Religious groups are achieving more solidarity and with it more exclusiveness. As groups become tighter, their members tend to perceive their world and to think in terms of denominational differences. Their concerns tend to limit their interactions with others.

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[87] David C. Moberg, "Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America," American Quarterly, XIII (Summer, 1961), p. 172.

[88] Michael P. Fogarty, Christian Democracy in Western Europe: 1820-1953 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957), 461 pp.

Furthermore, when political preferences and religious ideologies are closely correlated, as is increasingly the case in controversies over public funds for church institutions, one of the basic conditions of the forming of columns is fulfilled. In addition, the percentage of the nation's children in religious schools has been increasing. Efforts to provide public funds for church controlled schools tend to establish a dual system of education. Emergent vertical pluralism is evident on the local level in community fund-raising activities which recognize Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish welfare agencies. Sphere sovereignty theology among conservative Protestants and the principle of subsidiarity among Catholics are receiving more attention. "The ideological basis for vertical pluralism, even though it is not labeled as such, is thus promoted."[89] Divisions between secularists and religionists are commonly drawn; the public schools are called "Godless"; labels encouraging the columnizing of organizations and institutions are commonly in use.

It may be that countervailing conditions and tendencies may be strong enough to reduce the effect of these tendencies toward the columnizing of American life. Moberg suggests that the two party system, the lack of confessional political parties, the relative strength and diversity of the churches, and the influence of the tradition of separation of church and state may counteract tendencies toward the growth of columns.

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[89] Fogarty, p. 178.

It would be highly desirable to have more empirically detailed studies of the extent and character of the growth of vertical pluralism in America. The hypothesis that some kind of columnizing is likely in America might be refined so that a more precise assessment of forces acting for and against it could be made. The study of these conditions and forces could be largely independent of judgments as to the desirability of vertical pluralism as a pattern of social structure and of social control in a democratic society. Yet the need for studies of the defensibility of vertical pluralism as a pattern to be approved and encouraged are also indicated. Such studies might carefully appraise the relatively determinate consequences of this pattern of life for the achievement of the values of a free and open society.

In another article Moberg summarizes what he considers the manifest and latent consequences of Dutch vertical pluralism.[90] It seems clear that the consequences which he lists develop from the characteristics of columns which we have earlier noted.

Columns increase the spatial and ideological isolation of religious groups. They extend an interlocking network of control over most of the areas of life, a control which limits the interactions of people and prevents the full interplay of ideas. They compel conformity to the pattern of life and thought of a confessional column or, alternatively, force one against his free choice into a column of neutrality. When the consideration of political questions and questions of public policy is limited to applications of religious doctrine, a specious use of principles blankets the weighing of values.

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[90] David C. Moberg, "Social Differentiation in the Netherlands," Social Forces, XXXIX (May, 1961), pp. 333-337.

Vertical pluralism requires much duplication of effort in education and also in the use of specialists in columnized institutions. Efficiency may be reduced; problems of maintaining equal levels of quality are increased. The exchange of views with those of other columns is prevented; a concerted attack upon common problems is difficult to achieve.

Misunderstandings and tensions between groups can readily develop. The grounds for national unity are diminished. Difficulties arise in understanding the points of view of others. Ethnocentrisms and latent hostilities are encouraged.[91]

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[91] In January, 1964, a satirical television broadcast by the socialist network drew forth extensive and sometimes vituperative responses in letters to the newspapers. The broadcast, similar to one which had hardly stirred a ripple of excitement in England, satirized the worship of the television set as a new ecumenical religion. The language of the broadcast was frequently modeled on that of the Scriptures. For example: "All come to the picture who are taxed and burdened and the picture will give you rest." Or, again, "Give us now our daily program. Be with us, O picture, for we do not know what we should do without you." (Quoted from: J. van den Berg, Han Lammers, and Harry Mulisch, editors, Zo Is Het, Amsterdam, de Bezige, 1964, p. 6.) The Minister of Education, who in the Netherlands is responsible for the control of broadcasting, was criticized for not cutting the program off the air and was encouraged to take disciplinary action against the broadcasting company. A very popular television performer who had appeared in the program received such a reversal of popularity that she has apparently withdrawn from television altogether. The language of the letters to the papers was observed by some more thoughtful letter writers to reveal a mass of repressed feelings of hatred, the broadcast creating an occasion for expression of them.

Moberg also points to the instance of the pastoral letter, De Mandement, as an example of the way vertical pluralism carries ecclesiastical dogmatism into political life. Religious doctrines and ideologies, which may be incompatible with democratic conceptions, are superordinate to the values of a free society. Considerations of religious ideology and the balance of power between religious groups dominate other considerations in matters of appointment to civic offices and the like. Personal initiative and personal liberty are limited in a closed system which exposes the individual to only one world view and one interpretation of religious life.

It seems clear that these consequences should be recognized and weighed in the forming of judgments when Americans are urged to approve policies favoring the growth of denominational schools at the expense of the continued support of the public schools. Whether these consequences follow from all varieties of material support for the efforts of denominational schools is also a matter needing fuller study. A large part of the problem in American policy concerns how these and other similar consequences can be avoided while improving the quality of denominational education.

Certain aspects of Dutch experience suggest that Americans might work at their problems by encouraging fruitful ways of framing these problems. In an area highly charged with convictions, commitments, and emotions the educational concern with the way in which people come at their problems is particularly central. An important part of the educator's responsibility concerns the building of a climate favorable to the informed and thoughtful discussion of public policy. Since in the

Netherlands the discussion of policies about religion and schooling has been so central in national life, we may learn not merely what their policies are but what various aspects of their experience indicate about American approaches to policy problems.

It will be recalled that in the last part of the nineteenth century in the Netherlands efforts to support a unified system of public education directed by a policy of neutrality toward religious convictions brought forth a reaction in the form of a coalition between Protestants and Catholics. One of the elements of this coalition put the school question in the form of an antithesis, that is, as an ultimate and clear-cut choice for or against Christ. He who favored the private school supported Christianity; he who favored the public school was un-Christian. More recent movements in the Netherlands have sought to remove the school question from the denomination of the antithesis.

Arguments over religion and schooling in America frequently presuppose a premise similar to the antithesis. In many instances an antithesis between religion and public education is taken for granted. Charges that the public school is Godless, or that if it is not rooted in Christian doctrine it must be irreligious, or that its character is inherently hostile to spiritual and religious values express the logic of the antithesis. In this view no intermediate grounds are available between promoting doctrinal religious belief in the school and hostility to religion.

It may be that as a matter of fact certain people, including some teachers, seek to indoctrinate secularism as a doctrine in the public school, just as some may seek to implant uncritically any particular religious, non-religious, or anti-religious views. Such instances of the uncritical planting of belief under the name of education are indefensible. But this is not the point we seek to make here. It is not a matter of a miseducative practice that can be observed in a specific situation. The point here is that an antithesis between religion and public education is presupposed as a premise of thought. A particular doctrine is read into the formulation of the policy problem. One can always define a problem as insoluble. It is both wiser and better logic not to do so. If we permit an inalienable opposition between the public school and religious belief to dominate our thinking, we might well recall the consequences of the antithesis in Dutch experience.

Let us entertain another consideration from what may be found in the Netherlands.

Some in the Netherlands are expressing the view that the difference between a public and a private school is so diminishing that it is no longer apparent in the work of the school. Aside from a difference in the planning procedure for secondary schools and in the religious aspects of the school, the nature and quality of the education given is, as they see it, less a function of the religious vs. public school question and more a function of a complex of other factors.

Some feel that "the school of the parent" has not produced, as its name might imply, a close relationship between the upbringing of the home and the spiritual outlook of the school. The Dutch complain about the lack of support in the home of the religious attitude of the church school. In this regard, the religious school has become more like the public school; in both institutions the engagement of the parent in the support of the work of the school and the promotion of its prosperity has in recent years been actively encouraged.

Further, the instructional program, largely under the influence of the examination system, is for the most part identical in public and in private schools. Parents of students in denominational schools are likely to complain that their children do not stand as good a chance in the examinations since they spend some time studying religion at the expense of other content areas.

The difference between public and denominational schools is further obscured since, as we have noted, there is opportunity for doctrinal religious instruction in public schools as an optional subject.

Moreover, as we noted in our description of the legislative debate on the new secondary education bill, the private schools are treated in the same terms as the public schools in regard to their characteristics of good quality.

In short, the educational differences between the two types of schools, save for matters of ecclesiastical doctrine, are narrowing to the point where some thoughtful people begin to wonder whether the dual system is worth its cost. A number of Dutch educators have difficulty in seeing how their role as educators is different in public and in private schools. They find themselves inheriting a dysfunctional system of split schools.

All of this argues that a very high price may be paid for separate religious schools. There is some opinion that the disadvantages of the system as appraised by thoughtful religious people in the Netherlands may outweigh the gains. It is possible that much more conciliatory attitudes might develop in the United States if more attention were given to these assessments in the Netherlands rather than to one-sided claims that oversimplify the consequences of total subsidy for private schools.

We have seen that the power alliance based on the historic school struggle has, so to speak, fixed on the Netherlands a pattern of political and social life based on certain theological doctrines. It is not merely that religious differences are recognized and given a considerable measure of just treatment in educational policy. There is a difference between giving adequate attention to the problems of religious conviction in modern life and designing educational policy in conformity with the demands of theological positions. We have seen that some thoughtful Roman Catholics in the Netherlands are concerned with an increased lay control of schools and with less ecclesiastical domination. They see the encyclicals of the Church as historic documents conditioned by factors of time and place. Perhaps, they suggest, in an era of basic ecumenical thought, it is not ideal that every Catholic child should be in a Catholic school. This suggests that if there could be more discussion in America in the vein of critical reappraisal of commonly accepted doctrine, there might be much more sympathetic understanding of current educational problems.

We have also seen that the theological doctrines of sphere sovereignty on the neo-Calvinist side and subsidiarity on the Roman Catholic provided the rationale for an allicance of political power over a considerable period of recent Dutch history. It continues to give priority in educational planning to denominational secondary schools. We have noted that the legislature recently was called upon to decide whether the humanists could be considered religious equals with the main line churches. This kind of mixture of religion and politics, acceptable though it may be to the Netherlands' form of democracy, is what Americans since the time of the founding fathers have tried to avoid.

Furthermore, conceptions of sphere sovereignty and of subsidiarity, which may have had a democratic orientation in the periods in which they were developed in European countries, are considerably less appropriate in the context of American life. The historic tradition of local control of public schools in America and the considerable success of organizations and movements seeking to bring parents and citizens into close touch with the schools undercut the relevance of these doctrines to American problems.

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CHAPTER IV

POLICIES CONCERNING RELIGION AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SWEDEN

INTRODUCTION

There are a variety of reasons for selecting Sweden as a third country from whose experience Americans might profit in managing policies about religion and schooling. Of these we mention three.

Although arguments about learning from patterns of policy in Europe usually refer to those of the English or the Dutch, one should also consider the policies of other democratic Christian countries. The picture obtained by studying England and the Netherlands should be balanced by looking into the situation in a Scandinavian country. In Sweden policies did not develop as a consequence of the kinds of pluralism found in England and the Netherlands. The nation as a whole seceded from the Roman Church under Gustaf Vasa in 1527 and embraced Lutheranism.

Furthermore, it seems desirable to look into policies of church and schooling in the context of the Scandinavian way of life, that is, in a democracy where the free enterprise system has been extensively modified by social reforms and where government enterprise, public ownership, and cooperative societies are, by American standards, much advanced. Not only does Sweden have a history of the growth of a democratic life in some aspects reaching back into the Middle Ages, but it also has developed unique ways of combining its democratic traditions and forms of social life with the more active role of the state in the public welfare. It should be interesting to see how the "middle way"[1] and the "politics of compromise"[2] take care of the problems of religion and schooling. It has also been observed that until about 1900 the Scandinavians looked to America as an example of an ideal social republic—except for its treatment of the Negro—but that since 1900 the Scandinavian countries have been in many ways more of an example to Americans.[3]

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[1] Marquis W. Childs, Sweden, the Middle Way (New York: Pelican Books, 1948).

A third reason for the study of Swedish policy relates to the large scale and detailed reforms of the educational system in recent years. The length of compulsory schooling has been extended to nine years. A new type of institution, the comprehensive school, is to supersede completely the former elementary school by 1972-73. In October, 1963, a large committee was appointed to inquire into the future pattern of vocational training. When the Riksdag established the comprehensive school in 1962, it also provided for an institution known as the "continuation school," offering general education with a practical emphasis. A new organization of the gymnasium is being proposed. Higher education is being restudied and reorganized. Involved in all this is the study and report on the relationship of the Church to the public school. In view of this effort to study and revise policy on a national scale, it is appropriate that Americans should try to understand various aspects of the teaching of religion in Swedish schools.

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[2] Dankwart, A. Rustow, The Politics of Compromise: A Study of Parties and Cabinet Government in Sweden (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955).

[3] Bryn Hovde, "We Americans and Scandinavia," Scandinavia Between East and West, edited by Hennring Friis (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 336-341.

In the study of policies in Sweden we should again be alert to the problems, indicated in earlier sections of this report, of describing and interpreting the policies of other countries. Many conditions of social life and movements of thought, past and present, are involved. Some, such as an increasing tendency toward secularism in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but particularly after 1919, are directly related to current policy. Others, exemplified in certain aspects of Nordic cooperation such as the efforts of the Nordic Association to correct mistakes and omissions in interpretations of Scandinavian history in textbooks, are more indirectly related to changes in policy about religion and the schools. Movements within the Church of Sweden toward more liberal policies, such as the ordination of women clergy, which raises problems about faithfulness to the Scriptures and to confessional doctrines, are related to policies about the place of religion in the schools. Since 1958 a special parliamentary investigation has been under way to study the entire relation between church and state in Sweden. It is doubtful that within the limits of this report we can do more than mention many aspects of Swedish conditions and of Swedish history that bear with varying degrees of directness upon policy about the place of religion in the schools.

Perhaps an additional word of caution is appropriate in view of the contemporary changes in Swedish education. The comprehensive school is not yet fully achieved; the full development of educational policy is not yet realized. Consequently, the significance of recent considerations about religion and schooling is not yet fully apparent since teaching materials reflecting recent developments in school policy have not yet appeared.

Furthermore, the bearing of Swedish experience upon American problems may be found not only in the content of their policies but also in the process whereby national policies are built. Present efforts to revise and unify the educational system exemplify the way social problems are studied and discussed by a wide range of the Swedish people. What makes for the wide participation of the Swedish people in the study and discussion of matters of public policy may be only partially revealed in this report, but it is a highly significant aspect of the settlement of policies in Sweden.

GENERAL BACKGROUND CONCERNING STATE AND CHURCH IN SWEDEN

A brief overview of the general character of Swedish national government may help us understand the nature of national educational policy and how it is developed.

Sweden is a parliamentary democracy with a King as the head of the State. The King-in-Council, i.e., the King and the Cabinet, is the chief executive authority, although basically decisions are made at preliminary meetings of the Ministers. Legislative authority is shared between Cabinet and Riksdag, although the legislature is in control of matters of public finance. The legislature is bi-cameral, the lower house having 232 members, elected directly; the upper chamber having 151 elected by county and city councils. The chambers have equal powers; they have an equal number of members on joint committees which play an extremely important role in the work of the legislature. The Cabinet consists of fifteen members. The Prime Minister, appointed by the King, is usually the leader of the majority party. Five parties are represented in the Riksdag. Party distinctions tend to follow occupational differences rather than ethnic, religious, or regional cleavages.

In Sweden there is a separation between the function of legislative policy making and the administration and implementation of policy. The Swedish pattern of government differs from other Scandinavian forms in its:

> . . . sharp formal division between the policy-making executive departments of government and the entirely independent administrative boards and agencies. The latter, which are charged with the daily administration of existing laws and policies, are not obliged to seek the advice or opinion of any particular minister but are responsible directly to the government, which appoints a director general for each body.[4]

In education, legislative policies are managed by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction; the National Board of Education is the independent, subserving administrative agency.

There are many avenues for interaction between the Ministry and the National Board of Education. One of them consists in the appointment of "royal commissions" which undertake thorough study of a matter, provide information for the guidance of the legislature, predict probable effects of legislative proposals, and obtain public reactions. Reports are widely distributed according to a "so-called 'publicity principle' whereby all state and municipal documents shall be accessible to whoever desires to see them--whether that person has anything to do with the matter or not--unless there is an explicit legal provision to the contrary."[5] Thus in the development of the comprehensive school and in policy related to religion in the school there are extensive publications by the state in which policies are clarified and different views about them recorded. We shall make extensive use of selections from these materials in the pages that follow.

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[4] Joseph A. Lauwerys, "Lands and Peoples," Scandinavian Democracy, edited by J. A. Lauwerys (Copenhagen: The Danish Institute, et al., 1958), p. 44.

The Church of Sweden "is fully a state church in the sense that it is the only one established by law, and the only one having the government as its highest organ of administration."[6] The Church performs a number of secular functions such as keeping the vital statistics and maintaining burial grounds for the entire population.

Unless his parents have formally renounced membership in the Church, one is a member by right of birth. The church tax is collected with the state taxes, those withdrawing from the Church paying only 60 percent of the church tax on the basis of its secular functions. Many members of the Free Churches as well as those of more secular persuasions retain nominal membership in the Swedish Church.

The legislature decides many ecclesiastical matters. It enacts canon law with the consent of the General Synod. The government convenes the General Synod, pays its costs, and ratifies its decisions such as authorizing its ecclesiastical books--its translation of the Bible, its Hymnal.[7] The clergy are paid by the state, various parish incomes augmented from central funds being used for this purpose.

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[5] Lauwerys, p. 45.

[6] Berndt Gustafsson, The Christian Faith in Sweden (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1963), p. 9.

In the last decade there has been much concern with the relationship between church and state. The problem debated within and without the Church concerns the degree and kind of separation which would give the Church more freedom from state interference--as exemplified in the government's support for the admission of women into the clergy--and yet provide sufficient financial support for the work of the Church. The Free Churches are particularly concerned since they do not have the privilege of support from taxes collected by the state and hold that a state church violates the principles of religious freedom. Heldtander, however, observes that "many free-church groups recently have accepted certain connections with the state in the form of church marriage priviledges and state support for their educational programs."[8]

The Swedish Church is composed of thirteen dioceses. The cathedral chapter is the working unit of the diocese. The bishop is the chairman; lay representatives are included. The Bishop of Uppsala is archbishop, chairman of the church assembly, and spokesman for the Church in relation with the state and in ecumenical matters. The responses of various cathedral chapters to the government's educational proposals about religious teaching will be noted in later pages.

One of the conditions of policy about religion and the schools in Sweden, which is not immediately apparent to a visitor, concerns differences in religious faith and in the strength of religious feeling in different sections of the country. Not only are there factors such as the culture of the Lapps in the north, the presence of Free Churches and their societies, the differences between urban and rural settings, but also historic differences between the more metropolitan areas. There are distinctions between High Church and Low Church, Young Church and Old Church within the Church of Sweden, Old Church piety being strongest in West coast Sweden.[9] These differences which have some bearing on policies in the public schools should alert us to the hazards of thinking of membership in the Church of Sweden as a homogeneous thing.

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[7] Robert Murray, A Brief History of the Church of Sweden, translated by Nils G. Sahlin (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokforlag, 1961), pp. 79-80.

[8] Tore Heldtander, "Church and State in Sweden," The American-Scandinavian Review, L (March, 1962), p. 20.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

The nine-year compulsory basic or comprehensive school consists of three departments of three years each: Lower, Middle, and Upper. The main features of the school are summarized by Jonas Orring, who was Secretary-General of the Commission responsible for the design of the new school.[10]

In the first eight grades the subject, Knowledge of Christianity, is taught twice a week. In the ninth grade, where some specialization begins, it is taught once a week for those preparing for the gymnasium or for further study in humanistic, technical, mercantile, or social-economic lines of study.[11] In general, the subject seems to be given less attention in the last year due to pressure from other specialized subjects related to the careers of the student. Some aspects of the study of religion are, in the higher grades, included in other subjects such as sociology.

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[9] Gustafsson, pp. 14-16.

[10] Jonas Orring, Comprehensive School and Continuation Schools in Sweden, translated by Albert Read (Stockholm: Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, 1962), 154 pp.

[11] Swedish Statute Book, Curriculum for the Comprehensive School (1962, No. 480), pp. 1316-1321.

The organization of the subjects in Swedish school law indicates the way in which religious instruction is related to other subjects in the curriculum. In the Lower and Middle Departments of the basic school Knowledge of Christianity is listed as one of the orientation studies; in the first three grades, along with "regional study" (geography and folklore); in grades four, five, and six, along with six periods a week drawn from the fields of sociology, history, geography, and natural science. In the Upper Department it is listed as the only subject of general orientation, the other orientation subjects being divided into social and natural sciences. Thus, the way the curriculum is specified in school law indicates that the study of religion is a foundational subject matter serving to orient the student in the cultural life of his time.

The National Board of Education has indicated the aims of religious education. Its statement of orientation says:

> The teaching of religion aims at guiding the pupils in the essential content of the sacred Scriptures, in Christian faith and ethics, in the chief outlines of the history of Christianity, in the forms of congregations and in important non-Christian religions. It shall give knowledge too of the currents which have called into question the value of religious truths and give insight into fundamental ethical and religious questions and currents of ideas of the present day. Instruction shall be objective in the sense that it gives knowledge, founded on facts, of the meaning and substance of different outlooks on faith, without trying to influence the pupil authoritatively to embrace a certain way of thinking. It ought to be marked by broad-mindedness and

> tolerance. It ought to be given in such a way that the pupils comprehend the seriousness and significance of the questions at issue, and so that it promotes their individual progress and contributes toward creating understanding of the value of a personal conception of life as well as understanding of and respect for different views in questions of conceptions of life.
>
> The work in religion ought to be directed to giving the pupils such a skill that they will be able to acquire knowledge independently.[12]

After directing in these terms the general objectives of religious education, the school regulations continue by stating the major characteristic subject matters and patterns of teaching for the different levels of the comprehensive school. The effort is to give the schools some fairly clear direction as to what they should do in the particular area of instruction.

For the lower grades directions run to the effect that conversations should be undertaken on ethical and religious topics suitable for children. Simple narratives from the Bible, something about church festivals and modern Christian customs, some hymns and songs suitable for children should be given. Trips should be made for the purposes of study. Work should be done with different kinds of study and work materials.

For the middle grades selected materials from the Old and New Testaments and from the history of Christianity are indicated. Something about religious views, circumstances, manners and customs in non-Christian religions should be given. Discussions of moral and religious topics, suitable for the pupils, and initiated by other aspects of school work or from events and facts brought to the fore by pupils, should occur.

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[12] National Board of Education, The Curriculum of the Comprehensive School (Stockholm: The National Board of Education, 1964), p. 217.

In the higher grades, among other things, study of different Christian communions and important modern non-Christian religions should be undertaken. The Christian mission in the modern world should be emphasized. Deeper knowledge of the Bible and of Christian outlook on faith and life, with attention to cultural and social life and other outlooks on life, should be provided.

In short, directives are given for an increasingly broader and deeper understanding of Christian and other religions in the years of the comprehensive school.

The implementation of national policy about religion and schooling, as other subjects in the school, is directed by providing more detailed suggestions which teachers may use selectively in carrying on their work. At this level of advice, teachers are expected to be guided by suggested activities rather than to use the proposals for a desirable curriculum as a fixed course of study. Suitable activities for each grade are suggested. Suggestions are more extensive for the first seven grades than for the last two years of the basic school. We shall be more specific by sampling these proposals at various levels.

Suggestions for the content of religious education in the first grade of the comprehensive school indicate that talk about matters close to the child's experience, such as speaking the truth, being honest, considerate and grateful, being able to ask a person's forgiveness, refraining from gossip and the like may be encouraged at a positive and realistic level. They ought to terminate in a religious application, but only if they do so naturally. Relationship with other instruction should be sought. Stories of the birth of Jesus, materials showing the conditions of life in Palestine in the time of Jesus, narratives showing what kind of man Jesus was, should be used. Advent, Christmas, Twelfth Day and hymns and songs appropriate to these church festivals should be included.

Suggestions for the second grade extend the level of the discussion of moral and religious topics, the historical background of the Jewish people, and the narratives from the Gospels. In the third grade teachers are encouraged to deal with the history of Israel at the time of the three first kings, to teach the Psalms, to continue the study of the New Testament with an emphasis on a more continuous description of the work of Jesus.

The proposals for study in the Middle Department of the basic school, suggest considerably more detailed study of the Old and New Testaments and the history of Christianity. Talks about moral and religious topics, characteristic of instruction in the first years of the lower division, seem to give way in the middle grades to more detailed and precise study of such topics as the parables, the Passion of Jesus, the Ascension, and Christian martyrdom. The study of Paul, the ancient church, Luther and the Reformation in Germany and Sweden are suggested for the fifth year. Attention to non-Christian religions is first mentioned for the sixth grade. It is clear that instruction in Christian knowledge is to be coordinated as far as possible with instruction in other subjects; history and geography specifically are mentioned.

In the seventh year's course dissenting revival movement in Sweden, the origin of Free-Churches, different tendencies within the Swedish Church are specified. The forms of religious life within leading modern Christian churches and in various countries are to be studied. The religion of primitive peoples, of Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and the religions of China and Japan are mentioned. Modern Jewish religion and the unique position of Judaism in relation to Christianity and the non-Christian religions are to be studied.

The eighth and ninth years' courses appear to provide comprehensive treatments of the Bible, early Christianity, and the content of Christian faith and morals. Relations between religion and other aspects of cultural and social life are emphasized. More study of "other conceptions of life" is indicated. Religions of ancient peoples are also suggested.

The general proposals for the content of religious instruction in each of the years of the basis chool are followed by a section giving instructions and comments about the management of the teaching.

> Instruction ought to give knowledge of Christianity and to an extent of other religions. Christianity is a constituent part of the basic religious, moral, and social estimations, on which our culture, our society and our living together are being built, and knowledge of it is necessary to the understanding of Western cultural and social life in the past as well as in present times. The teaching of religion ought for that reason to be centrally teaching of Christianity, but knowledge of non-Christian religions is also part of the direction that the school should provide. This is particularly urgent at a time when the contacts between peoples and civilizations become more and more active and indispensable.
>
> The teaching of divinity should have, as the teaching of any other subject, an educating effect on the pupil. The pupil's own attitudes toward life are at stake. The norms and ideals of

> life, which are important to the individual and to the search for truth and earnestness in life, are being molded. The teaching should relate the insights of modern religious and ethical study to the personal and social problems of real life. Pupils should know also about the currents of thought that have called into question religious truths of the past. Moral commandments ought to be so studied that they are not seen as arbitrary, but as the products of the human social condition. The pupil should be awakened to responsibility without fear or the paralysis of guilt. One-sided moralistic teaching should be avoided.
>
> Religious education ought to be carried on so that it does not infringe the individual's right of thinking and believing freely. Therefore, it should be objective in the sense that it provides knowledge founded on fact about the content and significance of different ways of looking at life without trying authoritatively to influence the pupils to accept a certain way of thinking. The educational principle is that the pupil should be led through personal activity and independent thinking to search for his own conclusions. By presenting objectively and with tolerance knowledge of different beliefs, the pupil should be led to appreciation of and respect for people holding beliefs different from his own.
>
> The teacher ought always to remember that the homes from which the pupils come represent different ways of looking at religious matters. He ought carefully to avoid everything which may seem a hurtful attack upon a personal way of thinking.
>
> The Bible shall stand in the center of the teaching. It is vitally important that the pupils become well-versed in the Bible's religious and ethical message and get a good all-round Biblical education. Above all, the teaching ought to give them a complete picture of the personage of Jesus, his life and preaching. Also, the history of Christianity ought to be linked up with Biblical thoughts and texts so that it illustrates in a natural way the spirit of the Biblical texts. Students will thereby get a better understanding of and respect for people holding opinions different from theirs, and they may see that people who have tried to live after the message of Jesus have understood it in different ways. They will also get an idea of the influence the Bible has had through the ages.[13]

Following this further clarification of the general point of view to be taken in religious instruction, the recommendations deal in greater detail with the methods and resources for this instruction. Instruction should deal with what is central to the comprehension of the pupils. It should avoid a one-sided historical emphasis and seek to link up with the pupil's life. The teacher should plan what is a basic curriculum common to all pupils and what is to be undertaken above the basic standard. Relationships with other subjects are encouraged. The section ends with the suggestion that at the level of the ninth year, where divinity is not taught as a subject, questions concerning ethics and philosophy of life should be treated in other courses—courses in Swedish and other literature, sociology, and biology where problems of the individual's style of life will naturally arise in the nature of the subject.

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[13] National Board of Education, pp. 217-230.

It is clear from these sections of the report on the curriculum of the comprehensive school that Swedish policy combines a range of interests in such a way that the school is given considerable responsibility for the development of the student's knowledge of and life-attitude toward Christianity and religion in a more general sense. Swedish youth, through the work of the school, should knew and understand the Christian character and background of their culture. They are to learn this critically and functionally as it relates to the personal and social problems of the day. It is repeatedly emphasized that the school's effort is to promote freedom of thought, tolerance and respect for the variety of Christian and non-Christian religions. The need to understand the religious basis of other cultures today is clearly recognized. The desirability of coordinating religious and ethical with humanistic and scientific knowledge is also clearly evidenced.

6

The teacher's freedom of teaching within the objectives of national policy is clearly stated in the description of the curriculum of the basic school. "The teacher's freedom is, however, united to the duty to arrange systematically and to carry on the teaching not only within the scope of single lessons but also in the longer range."[14] The proposals for religious instruction provide a framework for the program of all nine of the school years so that there may be planning, continuity, and coordinated direction. Concurrently the freedom of the teacher within that framework is to be fully operative.

Before dealing in greater detail with the discussions leading to the settlement about the place and character of religious instruction in the comprehensive school, it seems desirable to consider the way in which problems about the religious character of morning assemblies in the school are handled. The place and character of religion in the program of the school and the meaning of religious freedom are to a considerable extent revealed in the way in which policies concerning religious worship in school are interpreted.

Two statutes reveal the nature of Swedish policy in this matter. One of these states:

> Before the first lesson of the day a time not to exceed ten minutes shall be spent for morning assembly; or if the meeting is common for several classes or for other special reasons it may be held for at most fifteen minutes.
>
> The common morning meeting shall be conducted in the order the headmaster decides, by the teacher of religion, or by

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[14] National Board of Education, pp. 97-98.

> another teacher willing to do so or by another suitable person.[15]

The other statute states:

> The pupil in the comprehensive school may at the parent's request be exempted from taking part in the morning meeting if there is full reason for it.
>
> The pupil shall at the parent's request be exempted from taking part in instruction in knowledge of Christianity, if the pupil belongs to a religious community which has been authorized by the Crown to stand in the place of attending religious instruction in the school.[16]

Both of these statutory provisions are the result of much discussion concerning the new comprehensive school and also of discussion and enactments in the 1950s concerning the teaching of Christian knowledge, morning prayer in school, freedom of dissent, and religious freedom.

We turn to an article in the yearbook of the society of teachers of divinity to clarify the way in which the right of exemption from divinity is interpreted. The article points out that the Board of Education distinguishes between three groups of children: (1) those from "admitted" religious communities, (2) those from other religious communities, and (3) those without any confessional affiliation.

Concerning the first group, the statute, which we have just quoted, provides that at the parent's request the child shall be exempted if the religious community has been authorized by the King to attend to religious instruction. Now, the article inquires:

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[15] Swedish Statute Book, Regulation for the School (1962, No. 439, paragraph 35), p. 1095.

[16] Swedish Statute Book, School Law (1962, No. 317, paragraph 27), p. 721.

Which are the communities which have been authorized? In a royal letter of the 17th of April, 1953, the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden and the Jewish Congregation in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö have the right to attend to instruction in divinity instead of the school for pupils belonging to these respective religious communities.

There are, however, certain conditions laid down. (a) The Board of Education and the proper county education authority shall have the right to get information about the instruction. (b) The instruction--save for the variance caused by differences in religious interpretations--shall correspond to the instruction in divinity at school. (c) The pupils shall be given a requisite certificate of the instruction they have received.

Since no other religious communities have applied for permission to give instruction in divinity instead of the school, it is in practice only Catholics and Jews who get this freedom.

The right to employ this provision has been delegated to the headmaster, so strictly speaking, the parents need only to apply to the office of the school and announce their desire.[17]

Concerning the children in the second group, those from other religious communities, they:

> may apply for this freedom in other ways and that is directly to the Government. The application is submitted to the Board of Education, which recommends according to the following assumptions: (a) That the conditions in the royal letter of April 17, 1953, ought to apply. (b) Further, the Board makes certain demands upon the religious community. It shall have stability in organization; it shall work with a certain intensity; it shall have "come of age." In return, the number of members is of less importance; as a lower limit one would expect twenty recorded members. If these conditions are fulfilled and if nothing else recommends against their freedom, the Board considers itself able to recommend the application, which as a rule will probably imply the sanction of the Government.[18]

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[17] Sven Alsparr, "The Right of Exemption from Divinity," Kristendoms Lärarnas Förenings Årsbok, 1963, pp. 53-4.

[18] Alsparr, p. 54.

Concerning children from the third group, those from confessionless families, the situation is different.

> Even if parents pledge themselves to arrange instruction under the consideration of directions, which might be thought to be issued, the Board will not recommend such an application for freedom. Accordingly, it is less probable that the Government would sanction the application.[19]

Thus exemption from instruction in Christian knowledge is not uniformly given to any and all who seek it. Only those who belong to a substantial and enduring confessional group are likely to be exempted.

In regard to the morning assembly, the remarks of a member of the school drafting committee, who is headmaster of an elementary teachers normal school and a member of the Social Democratic Labor Party, give a clear indication of the considerations that entered the 1962 statutes. He reports:

> the school drafting committee has not in its reports taken up the question of the character of the morning meetings. By doing so, the present condition of things is maintained. The school day is to be started with a morning meeting which may have different character, but there prayer, religious discourse and hymn-singing may exist. In most schools this is probably the content of the introduction to the day's work.
>
> At the time of the report of the school drafting committee of 1946, six members of the committee supported the view that instruction in divinity ought to be objective, that common prayer ought not to exist in school, that the morning prayer ought to be replaced with other forms of meeting and that the regulation providing that the teacher of divinity must belong to the State Church or profess himself an adherent of the pure Evangelical faith ought to be rescinded. Since that time, the Riksdag has approved a new law of religious freedom in which the teacher's religious affiliation was pronounced to be properly the individual's private affair. By this was meant that instruction in

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[19] Alsparr, p. 54.

> divinity ought to be objective. Curriculums and instruction in this subject have hesitatively been changed in this direction. The school drafting committee has in its proposal distinctly supported objectivity and neutrality in instruction in religion. The earlier designation of the morning devotions has been changed to morning meeting, and the teacher has the liberty to shape this after his own opinion.
>
> Under these circumstances, the right for the schools and teachers to arrange morning meeting with prayer and hymn-singing seems a contradiction.
>
> Attendance at prayer and hymn-singing presupposes a fixed religious attitude. The constraint of attending morning prayer is a categorical interference in the freedom of faith. 'Just as you would not now-a-days force adult people to attend services, so you ought not to force young people, who are far more easily suggested and guided than older people, to attend devotional exercises,' said the six members of the 1946 committee.
>
> When those from the church or religious community still claim the right for teachers to preach Christianity at school, this presupposes an antiquated conception of the Christian's sole right to the preaching of conceptions of life. Such claims are irreconcilable with democracy and freedom of religion. They are also irreconcilable with fundamental pedagogic principles: pupils ought as far as possible to be allowed to try by themselves to move forward and acquire conceptions founded on their own insights; they ought to be educated to independence of thought and to learning to take a critical stand on questions where different views abound and the influence of authority is felt. The school drafting committee has urged these points of view in regard to the subject, 'divinity,' itself. In my opinion they ought to have pronounced the same opinion in regard to the morning gathering.
>
> As the drafting committee has not discussed this problem and accordingly not made any proposal in the matter, I propose: that the prescriptions about morning meeting will be shaped so that they eliminate all possibility of deviating from the principles of religious freedom.[20]

The point of view expressed in this passage indicates some fundamental problems that have been considered in the design of Swedish policy.

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[20] The Comprehensive School (Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1961:30), p. 832. "Special Remarks" by Stellan Arvidsson.

Earlier school regulations had prescribed prayer and the singing of hymns for morning devotions in the school. In the 1950s the terms "morning prayer" and "morning devotions" were changed to "morning meeting" or "morning gathering" and it was ruled that the form of the meeting should be extended to provide for other kinds of content--music, literature, and talks without elements of religious worship.

At this point we should be reminded of the process by which policy is prepared for enactment in Sweden. In the development of policy the report of a committee for the drafting of legislation is published. It explains the grounds on which the committee bases its recommendations and includes minority or dissenting views such as that of Mr. Arvidsson. After this report and its associated "special remarks" are published and are widely discussed, a special committee of the legislature reviews the work of the drafting committee, solicits other comments from heads of departments, and recommends the legislation to be enacted. Thus the discussion of controversial aspects of policy occurs publicly, with maximum opportunity for all to engage in it, before the legislation is acted upon in the Riksdag. The time consumed in debate and passage of legislation in the Riksdag is very brief.

The report of the special committee indicates its weighing of various demands, among them some concerned with exemption from instruction in Christian knowledge and the morning assembly. The committee referred approvingly to the 1951 statute affirming the right of exemption for those whose faith was found by the government to diverge so much from what the schools were doing that children should be withdrawn. But for children of families without any confessional faith, the committee thought that they ought to know about the religious aspects of modern cultures and that objective instruction would not infringe their freedom. Furthermore, to divide children into "heathen" and "Christian" camps was seen as hardly compatible with the ideal of a common, unified, comprehensive school. The report suggests that the morning meetings ought to be characterized by the objectivity desirable in religious instruction so that all pupils could in good conscience attend.

Among the materials submitted to the special committee reviewing the proposed legislation about the comprehensive school, a statement by the President of the Board of Education indicated his approval of the principles and directions of the drafting committee's report. However, he wanted particularly to emphasize the principles at stake in instruction in Knowledge of Christianity. He emphasized the need to understand the Christian character of Western culture, the varieties of its forms and the urgent need to know also non-Christian religions. Today contacts between peoples are more readily made, more lively, and more indispensable. He stressed the importance of personal development in religious and ethical matters. He wanted to emphasize more sharply than the drafting committee its pronouncement:

> instruction in divinity must be carried on so that it does not come into collision with the demand of freedom of thought and faith. Therefore, it shall be objective in the sense that it gives knowledge founded on facts of the meaning and content of different confessions without trying authoritatively to influence the pupils to embrace a certain way of thinking.[21]

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[21] Supplement to the Official Records of the Riksdag, 1962, 12th collection. Statement Number 1, 1962, pp. 37-39.

The content of the report of the special committee is of considerable interest for it reveals the nature of some of the demands made upon the committee and the way the committee responded to them. These demands concerned among other things: the changing of the name of the subject from "Christian knowledge" to "religion"; the dropping of the subject as a separate course and substituting the study of religion in other basic guidance or orientation subjects; the proclamation by the legislature of the importance of teaching Christianity and the interpretation of the need for "objectivity" in its instruction; the exemption from instruction in Christianity of children whose parents ask for it on the grounds of their atheistic beliefs; the proportionate number of school hours given to religion in the higher grades, particularly in view of the pupil's preparation for confirmation on the one hand and the pressure for pre-professional and practical subjects on the other. The committee responded to these suggestions, after expressing appreciation for the thoroughness and great sincerity of the drafting committee, in the following manner:

> . . . The aim of the school . . . must from time to time be revised; its tasks must continually be kept up-to-date. They thus cannot ever be finally stated. In older times the influence of the milieu of the home, the circle of comrades and of school upon the young could be built upon a firm system of norms accepted by all. The conception of life was uniform and the rules of action were to be interpreted only in one way. Education for life could and had to be given by impressing these rules and norms upon the young. Today within our people different opinions about conceptions of life are asserted, and old systems of norms, which many people still consider valid, should, as others see it, be replaced by new ones. The ideals of humanity and democracy are nowadays sometimes difficult to define but there are some undisputed estimations upon which the work of the school has to build. As a basis for its educational work, the school can no longer assume a view of the conception of life common to everybody; this has

> got to give way to a commonly acknowledged and accepted way of viewing society.[22]

This way of viewing social realities, which the drafting committee had worked thoroughly and attentively to present, is summed up in the demand for objective knowledge. Teaching in divinity should be done with the same aim as teaching any other subject. Policies about teaching divinity should be guided by "objectivity" and "matter-of-factness" which also characterizes the teaching of any other subject. This concern with objectivity, the special committee considered, reaches into the heart of the matter more fully and productively than other concerns which do not touch on the fundamental educational reason for the activity of the school in this matter.

The appeal to "objectivity" or "matter-of-factness" as a basic educational principle enabling a common policy about religious instruction and attendance at morning assemblies is a fundamental aspect of Swedish policy, and one not without its difficulties. The special committee seems to be saying that in order for the comprehensive school to live up to its function in the modern period, it should be guided by an educational principles, equally appropriate to the teaching of any subject matter, that it should be taught with a view to enlightening the pupil. Instruction in the knowledge of Christianity should in this respect have the same purpose as any other teaching.

With the purposes of this study in mind, it is interesting to note that the meaning of objectivity in the teaching of Christian knowledge is subject to much discussion and involves sharp differences of opinion. Among educators it is discussed reasonably but forcefully in an effort to develop operating policies that will guide the school as it seeks to come to grips with the conditions of modern life. Some further indication of the nature of Swedish experience in this regard seems indicated.

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[22] Formal Report of the Special Committee, No. 1, 1962, pp. 155-156.

Some seek to have objectivity mean that the subject, divinity, is not to be given any privileged place in the curriculum. In this view Christian knowledge is not to be reinforced by acts of worship or by elements of evangelical, missionary, or redemptive purpose. It is to be taught factually, as a field of knowledge of Christian and other religions and is to stand on the same basis in the curriculum as any other subject. The teaching is to help the individual to think for himself, to develop his own interpretation of life.

On the other hand, some interpret objectivity and matter-of-factness within the context of the educational responsibility of the church as given in Matthew 28 which, in the King James Version, says: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." This view holds that faithfulness to the teaching mission of the church and to the living character of Christian commitment prevents the reduction of Christianity as a school subject to something less than personal involvement in a living faith. Objectivity means tolerance and respect for religious differences but not standing outside the religious experience and tradition within which lies one's redemption.

The discussion of policy between school people holding these views, which the writer was privileged to hear thanks to the generosity of these Swedish educators, was spirited, challenging, and responsible. Although all talk in Sweden about this matter may not be of this quality, one cannot help feeling that as dialogue of this order continues and is expanded and shared, a viable meaning of objectivity is being forged and demonstrated. The different values expressed in these views could constitute in large measure an objective enlightenment of the minds of Swedish youth. The discussion revealed that teaching at the higher levels of the school's classes presented opportunities for the objective discussion of such conflicting views. The greatest difficulties in implementing objectivity in religious teaching is in the lower grades. The opinion of the present writer is that the development of Swedish policy in this whole matter is of great promise and that Americans could profit considerably from this aspect of Swedish experience.

To return now to the description of other, related aspects of Swedish policy, preparation for confirmation is separated from the teaching of Christian knowledge in school. In order to see how this works out in practice, a quotation from Dr. Sten Rodhe, a leader in the educational work of the Church of Sweden, is appropriate.

> Of the newborn children in Sweden 85 percent are baptized into the established church--part of the remainder is baptized later into the established church or some free church. Practically every baptized child is later confirmed in the church. The usage of confirmation is as strong as is the usage of baptism, accepted by the great majority of the people, though only a small minority (about 3 percent) will regularly attend the Sunday services of the folk church. This means that the instruction given for confirmation reaches almost as many as the instruction given in the schools. School laws make no provision for confirmation

> as they do in Norway and Denmark, and with an expanding school system it is becoming increasingly difficult to find time for an effective confirmation teaching. The normal age of confirmation is 14, and though there is no strict rule, the confirmation is usually combined with the first Holy Communion. As a normal time for the preparation the bishops recommended 60 hours, though the shortage of clergy causes that often this amount of hours is not reached. The normal way is to teach in the afternoons during a winter, from autumn to spring. But summer confirmation schools in diocesan homes, boy scout camps and so forth are becoming more and more used and give evidently better results. In the last ten years committees appointed by the church have done much to help this teaching, which centers around the content of the catechism. Instructional courses for pastors are given; handbooks and teaching aids are published.
>
> The free churches have "Bible schools" as an equivalent to the confirmation of the church. But it is not unusual that children from free church families are confirmed in the folk church.[23]

Thus the churches are able to reach a very large percentage of Swedish youth outside the school where the church may not engage in missionary activities.

An article by Gösta Lindeskog, director of the Religionspedagogiska Institutet (Institute for Religious Teaching) at Uppsala reveals the attitude of those who might be called progressive religious teachers to the need for objectivity in religious teaching.[24] He points out that in the new regulations a direction which had been operative in large measure in teaching was legally confirmed. Since religion is an obligatory subject in an obligatory nine-year school and since the pupils in this basic school come from families of established church, free church, and professionless backgrounds, the situation calls for an objective religious lesson. Representatives of Christian interests, as well as secularists, have good reason to approve a policy of objectivity for this protects also their interest, particularly in the instance where a teacher of religion is an outspoken atheist.

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[23] Sten Rodhe, The Scandinavian Churches: Church and Education (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 16.

[24] G. Lindeskog, "Religionsunterrich in einer säkularisierten Welt," Opdracht, IX (No. 5), pp. 154-159.

Lindeskog points out that some see the religious lesson of the free confessional or denominational school as the final solution to the threat of secularism. He does not hold this view on the grounds that religious teaching would then disappear from the basic school and only a minority of pupils would receive a religious education. In addition, he believes that objective religious teaching is of great value to religious interests. In the hands of well-educated teachers, it not only teaches tolerance but also an objective or impartial basis for criticism of spurious religiousness. It promotes a fuller general awareness and understanding of genuine religious reality (echte religiose Wirklichkeit).[25]

In discussing the meaning of objectivity Lindeskog contrasts it with the kind of religious teaching appropriate to a confessional religious lesson. He distinguishes between the content and the method of teaching. There is a difference, although not an absolute one, between a sermon and a lesson in religion. A sermon tries "to edify, to exhort, to awaken, to call for decisions, to warn, and to punish."[26] A lesson, on the other hand, aims to convey knowledge, to stimulate the intellect, to facilitate learning. While one cannot make a decisively final separation between a confessional and an objective lesson, the former is more typically limited to clarifying dogmas, to teaching a catechism, while objective teaching seeks the maximum of impartial justice to all views. Objective teaching seeks a general presentation of Christian belief and, at the higher school levels, of other religions and weltanschauungen. It has an historical orientation to the larger range of religious experience.

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[25] Lindeskog, p. 156.

[26] Lindeskog, p. 157.

Since the subjective factor, that is, the personality of the teacher, is involved in both the confessional and the objective lesson, there is not an absolute distinction between them. The objective lesson can be a powerful experience in approaching the message of the Gospels. The confessional lesson may be turned into "an impersonal, dry, boring, caricature of the Christian message."[27] In the teacher's control of his values lies the difference. The objective lesson can let the majestas materiae, the sovereign majesty of the material, come to the fore. It can attend to the right of pupils of different backgrounds to form their own opinions of the profound questions of life. It can prepare pupils for what only they themselves can experience in the Gospels. The instructional (intellectual) function of the school can be combined with its function in upbringing (erziehung). Only if objectivity stands for valueless neutrality, impersonality, ignorance of the character of the Gospels, does it become opposed to the more limited function of the teaching of a particular church.

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[27] Lindeskog, p. 158.

It appears that Lindeskog's position goes a long way toward revealing the frontier of religious thought about educational policy in Sweden today. It carries forward positively the role of religious interests while attending centrally to the freedom of the enlightened mind to formulate its deepest convictions. It seeks to work out a meaning of objectivity which avoids on the one hand an overly narrow neutrality in matters of fundamental values and on the other hand the advancing of a predetermined religious faith as a true doctrine that needs only to be objectively perpetuated. The ingredients of his approach to problems of teaching religion in Sweden seem appropriate to problems in other countries, including our own.

A recent government publication[28] relates some of the representations made in regard to the drafting committee's suggested regulations concerning the basic school. Criticisms centered in four concerns. A number of them represent the views of Cathedral Chapters of the Swedish Church.

First, several statements supported the view that the school should have a clearly Christian character. In this view, it should be decided first of all that the Swedish school is a Christian school. "Education is an empty concept if it is not decided where it shall lead." Those holding this view think that the proposal of the committee contained a view of man which assumed that "man in his own nature is good and will develop good qualities to the extent that his milieu allows them to find expression." Such an anthropology, it was maintained,

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[28] Teaching Christianity (Kristendomsundervisningen) (Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1964: 30), pp. 61-63.

"is hardly realistic and is directly inappropriate as the aim of the school." This view is not satisfied by the explanation that these "smoothing-over and noncommittal" words had to be used because the culture is split by varied, well-established conceptions of life or the lack of them. "Swedish society is still at bottom so dominated by values derived from the Christian Gospels that it must be regarded as a principle task of the school to set forth in its activities the norms of a Christian way of life."[29]

The point of view of a Free Church committee is summarized. In this view, when the drafting committee undertook as its purpose to provide a clear conception of the moral norms of a democratic society, they started as a matter of fact from fixed assessments and assumed that certain moral norms are necessary for that democracy to function. No more thorough analysis of the bases of democracy was made, and the norms were only suggested. What the drafting committee said about the Christian religion being a basis for our ethical and social values ought to have been allowed to define the aim of the school and especially of upbringing.

The second grouping of statements submitted as responses to the work of the drafting committee contained some penetrating questions concerning objectivity in instruction in divinity.

Some observed that the drafting committee did not hesitate at all in stating that education for democratic citizenship should influence the pupil to take a certain point of view. It was then peculiar that the committee fenced instruction in Christianity with restrictions exceeding those needed for instruction founded on facts. Furthermore, the way the drafting committee justified the demand for objectivity in the teaching of Christianity could lead to consequences quite unfavorable from the point of view of teaching Christianity.

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[29] Teaching Christianity, p. 62.

Another response indicated that it was more correct to use the expression "correct instruction, founded on fact" than "objectivity."

Still another response considered that the drafting committee was hardly successful in arguing for objectivity and that its proposals indicated a secularization of the subject.

Another view expressed satisfaction with the proposals and stated among other things that the demand for objectivity was as much a protection against anti-Christian propaganda as against proselyting for particular Christian opinions.

Responses to the report of the drafting committee also included one from the Swedish Social-Democratic Students' Society. In their view, instruction in Christianity ought, because of the principles of religious freedom, to become religious knowledge both nominally and in reality, and this would mean that knowledge of Christianity would be removed as an independent subject in the curriculums and schedules of the schools.

A committee of free-churchmen declared that they upheld the instruction in Christianity which had been in force for a number of years and disapproved of what had been stated about objectivity in the instruction of different age-groups in the basic school.

A third matter that received criticism concerned the number of class hours allotted to knowledge of Christianity. Criticism was directed against the failure to include the subject in some of the technical curriculums of the ninth year. In a comparatively large number of comments it was held that the subject should be given in all ninth year patterns of study. A brochure to this effect carrying the signatures of about sixty thousand persons was delivered to the Board of Education. On the other side, the Swedish Social-Democratic Youth's Society held that the subject ought not to exist in the ninth year's offerings. The Swedish Social Democratic Women's Society thought that the hours given to the teaching of religion in the middle department ought to be reduced.

The fourth focus of criticism concerned regulations about the right of exemption. Some thought the law ought to state that every pupil should get some kind of instruction in religion. Others thought that instruction should be so comprehensive and objective that all pupils were able to attend it.

As for the morning meeting, there was criticism of the view that pupils could be exempted from morning meetings which were conducted by a person who was a member of the pupil's own religious community. To distinguish between morning meetings with religious elements and those without was also considered to cause practical difficulties.[30]

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[30] *Teaching Christianity*, p. 63.

THE NEW GYMNASIUM

The committee concerned with drafting new curriculum regulations for the gymnasium also considered as part of their work the character and function of the study of religion. Its proposals were based on the analysis of and adjustment between the demands made upon the gymnasium by different groups of consumers, by society in general, and by individuals. The requirements about religion should be seen within this weighing of interests and also within the general aims and divisions of the curriculum.

Among these, it recommended that the gymnasium ought to go beyond the comprehensive school in developing the personality of pupils and especially their critical abilities. Pupils need good habits of planning and carrying on independent study. They need to be prepared for the realities of social life through study of sociology, technical and natural science, and cultural studies including literary, aesthetic, religious, philosophical and psychological matters, and through attending to international relations and historical developments.

The curriculum should gradually lead to self-dependent study and work on long-range scholarly activities. The hours spent in classes should therefore gradually be reduced in the three years. Thirty-four, 32, and 30 hours a week were specified, and this meant a 10 percent reduction in class hours a week from the existing pattern.

In regard to the study of religion, topics in church history should be transferred to courses in history. Religion should be largely devoted to the study of present conditions and the treatment of non-Christian religions should above all be strengthened. This was why the committee suggested that the name of the subject should be changed to "Religion."[31]

The altered nature of the subject which justified the recommended new designation is indicated in the following passage:

> Religion as a self-dependent subject shall give knowledge of the function of religion in the life of the individual and of society in different cultural milieus. It should be characterized by a marked concern to provide guidance in the modern world and will concentrate on the description of the most important non-Christian religions as well as a treatment of the essential features of Christian faith and ethics in connection with Biblical texts and a discussion of actual problems and conceptions of life. Historical reviews will be given to the extent that they are necessary to elucidate important aspects of religious life within different churches and religions or to illustrate religious problems, which meet modern man within or outside our cultural milieu.[32]

The committee making proposals about the new gymnasium also suggested that the customary morning meeting should be abolished and replaced with a common meeting. At such a meeting, which is not intended to take place daily, information about the school and plans for its work would be announced. Part of the meeting might consist of musical presentations, the showing of films, readings and short lectures. Primarily, the meeting should give a feeling of unity in the school. The proposal also suggested that attendance ought to be voluntary, and the report indicated that the Synod of 1963 approved of changes in this direction.

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[31] U. Dallöf and L. Sangren, Gymnasiereformen (The Reorganization of the Gymnasium) (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1963), pp. 50-51.

[32] The New Gymnasium (Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1963: 30), p. 361.

However, the committee drafting the plan for the new gymnasium also recognized that many people have a considerable interest in questions connected with religious and ethical questions. They recommended that:

> The school ought to contribute in such a way that the pupils' interests in this regard will be satisfied. The committee therefore proposes that school halls be put at the disposal of pupils for meetings of this kind. These ought to be purely voluntary—attendance ought to depend upon every single pupil's initiative. The frequency of such meetings ought also to be the pupils' private affair.[33]

Further details about the considerations involved in the reduction of the number of hours in religious teaching are summarized in the fifth part of the report of the 1958 investigating committee dealing with the church and the state.[34] In its second chapter the regulations pertaining to the gymnasium, as well as those about the comprehensive school and schools for teacher education, are summarized.

In the new gymnasium the former pattern of three main lines of study--general, commercial, and technical--are to be replaced by five--the humanistic, the social science, the natural science, the economic, and the technical lines. The new gymnasium is to be a three-year course except for the technical line which should be four.

In the older pattern Knowledge of Christianity was taught a total of five hours a week in the three-year course of the general gymnasium. The committee for the new gymnasium has suggested that a total of two and [illegible] half hours a week should be used for teaching Christianity in the humanistic and social science lines and one and a half in the natural science line. Thus a reduction of between three and a half and two and a half hours a week will be achieved.

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[33] The New Gymnasium, p. 405.

[34] Teaching Christianity, p. 182.

The report also indicates that the committee conducted an investigation into the pupils' own interests in respect to the teaching of Christianity. The result showed a lack of interest.

Another investigation was made to find the opinions of citizens between the ages of 15 and 75 about the extent of the teaching of Christianity. The results of the interviews showed that 2 percent favored no teaching of Christianity at all; 15 percent favored one hour a week in each class; 42 percent favored two hours a week in each class; 12 percent favored three hours a week; 6 percent, four hours a week; 3 percent, five hours a week; and 6 percent favored six hours a week. No opinion was expressed by 14 percent of those interviewed. The average came to 2.4 hours a week in each class. The answers from parents were distributed in the same way as those from citizens in general.[35]

The main considerations in the teaching of the subject in the gymnasium are said to be: to build upon the education that the comprehensive school began; to contribute to social maturity; to bring about a critical and inquiring attitude. The demand for objectivity is seen as a general rule in all gymnasium teaching.

The content and development of the teaching of religion as a subject should be judged in terms of the pupil's conduct of life and his valuations. The goals of the teaching are as follows: to give knowledge about the function of religion in the life of the individual and of the society; to give insight into the fundamental ideas of the various religions; to deal with the different forms of religious life within or without Christianity; to introduce the problems that exist within the present religious situation; and on the basis of the study of Biblical texts to explain the characteristic content of the Christian belief and ethics and to relate this to other perspectives on life and to important problems in contemporary culture.

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[35] Teaching Christianity, pp. 78-79.

In a section dealing with the teaching of Christianity the report reproduces the goal of this teaching as stated in the course plan for the gymnasium and then states how the goal is more specifically worked out in the classes of the gymnasium.

> The teaching of Christianity shall: urge the students to serious meditation on religious and ethical questions, give them a profound insight into the Biblical literature and its basic thoughts, widen their knowledge of the main points in the history of Christianity, put Christianity into its historical setting with respect to the history of religion as well as to the general cultural and social context, provide one's bearings in the present religious circumstances giving a systematic description of Christian belief and ethics and a consideration of current questions in cultural and social life.
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> In the course plan it is specified that for the 4 year line in Class I a survey of the religious conceptions of ancient times should be given. In the teaching of the Bible one gives as an introduction to the study of the New Testament a short survey of the basic ideas of the Old Testament and of Judaism. In addition one deals with the life and times of Jesus and his sayings, the apostles, and the writings of the New Testament. In Class II one studies church history from the ancient through the medieval period to the reformation. In Class III one studies church history from 1600 to 1900. One also studies contemporary Christianity, for example, the main Christian churches, Swedish Church life as well as other churches. Ecumenical strivings, the mission of the world, and the most important contemporary

> non-Christian religions with emphasis upon primitive religion, Indian religion, and Muhammadanism. In Class IV one deals with different perspectives of life, systematic description of Christian belief and ethics in connection with the study of Biblical texts, problems, and current philosophies of life.[36]

A further explanation of the type of teaching that is recommended is offered in another paragraph.

> One should mention in the teaching of Christianity the various modern outlooks on life preferably in confrontation with the Christian view. For example, in such collations as: Christianity and idealism, belief in creation and evolutionism, nietzschean superman and Christian believer, a Christian and a secularized point of view of the problems of society. This confrontation should be introduced positively and as a matter of fact so that the content of the different perspectives will clearly appear. Because of a strong division which characterizes the spiritual state of today, it is desirable when dealing with these comparisons that one concentrate on discovering something in common in the different points of view. A perspective on life only has its true and real value when it emerges as a personal and honest conviction, that is to say, free from irrelevant obscuring influence . . . .[37]

The effort to combine objectivity with the need for confrontation is clearly an important part of the considerations about teaching of religion in the gymnasium. The pupil is to become engaged in basic concerns about one's philosophy of life without being led to accept a predetermined view. The teaching is to help the student to think and to take a position independently and to develop his own interpretation of life.

Objectivity is seen as consistent with the teacher's expression of his own opinion. The teacher is not directed to communicate only the dry facts about different perspectives. He is to engage the students in the problems of belief but also to protect their freedom of belief and thought. It is pointed out that this problem is encountered in the teaching of other subjects, especially those dealing with teaching about society. It is better that teachers should work at the matter rather than having the young people get their knowledge without control on the part of the society. If it were done by some means other than by the teachers there is little chance that the various religious perspectives would be made believable. The young would be more likely to be provided with a certain outlook. The school's neutrality can be achieved if it bases its education on values that do not have their source in any special religion or perspective.

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[36] Teaching Christianity, p. 90.

[37] Teaching Christianity, p. 91.

In connection with the recent developments concerning religion and the schools in Sweden, one observes that considerable attention has been given by Swedish leaders to what is called the "co-Christian name-gathering" of 1963. This refers to a petition against reducing the number of hours devoted to teaching Christianity in the gymnasium. The petition was circulated by some ten thousand of those sympathetic to maintaining the traditional number of hours, five hours a week, for teaching divinity. The petition was signed by some 2,100,000 Swedish people. The total population of Sweden numbers about 7,500,000. The petition was transmitted to the President of the Board of Education by its primary sponsors, the Joint Christian School-Committee. The petition represented, as the President of the Board of Education said, a very great expression of opinion, one that could not be overlooked in the final settlement of the matter.

An article by the editor of Church and School,[38] the journal of The Church Teachers' Society and the Future Teachers' Christian Union, is interesting because it interprets the response of the press to this petition. The author reports some 5,000 news items and articles have dealt with the matter in the Swedish press. In his opinion, as a reult of this considerable attention in the papers, the petition was the product of an informed public opinion. People did not sign without knowing what the matter was about. He found the disinclination to take it seriously in the more culturally-radical press a "morally dubious form of political pressure." The local papers first recognized the seriousness and considerable extent of public opinion. The author finds that the attention given to the matter in the Stockholm papers, particularly those associated with social-democratic political views, and in the state's television broadcasts--to use an American expression--too little and too late. The article expresses some surprise on its side at the large number of signatures. Perhaps the reluctance in Stockholm to take the petition seriously was the difficulty involved in "fitting it into the usual conception of the state of opinion in the country." It concludes that the real political effect remains to be seen; that the struggle is not ended.

It may also be interesting to note that there is a considerable opinion, particularly on the part of those supporting the present government, to the effect that the pressure exerted by the petition was unnecessary. In the legislative processes the recognition of the importance of

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[38] Carl Gustaf Boethius, "The Co-Christian Name-Gathering and the Press," Kyrka Och Skola, XXIV (No. 3-4, 1964), pp. 7-9.

Christianity as the religious basis of the culture would have been taken care of without this additional pressure upon parliamentary processes in Sweden. In this view, the parties are so divided, with the social democrats holding a bare majority, that there is no hard and fast grip upon a movement toward secularism in the Swedish parliament. On religious questions certain members of the dominant party cross over to the opposition. Parliamentary leaders are attentive to keep away from situations where Christian members of the Social Democratic Party would vote in opposition to the party's general position. In a sense, then, the will of the people in regard to the teaching of Christianity is expressed somewhat apart from political party affiliation. On the other hand, those more actively concerned with upholding the place of the Church of Sweden in national life see the extent of the name-gathering as evidence strongly supporting their position.

THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

We have already noted several aspects of Swedish political life making for the kind of compromise or "middle way" in matters of public policy. The commissions of inquiry engage in thorough study, using the products of research and holding hearings to elicit a wide range of expressions of views and proposals in forming their recommendations. The separation of administrative boards from the policy deliberations of the Ministry provides for the consideration of policy in the light of the practical experience of administrative agencies. The principle of publicity means that extensive public documents are accessible to the press, to interested groups, and to any individual who wants to be concerned with the forming of policy.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Swedish society contributing substantially to the development of policy consists in the number and variety of voluntary associations. Rustow says that the Swedes have "a universal inclination to form societies in the pursuit of impersonal objectives."[39] Swedish society is:

> saturated with voluntary associations. Almost the entire working population is organized according to its function in the productive process--the wage earners in trade unions, white collar workers in associations of salaried employees, farmers in agricultural marketing societies, and industrialists in employers' associations. One million four hundred thousand voters are card-holding members of the several political parties and their affiliates, 1,000,000 consumers belong to the cooperative movement, 800,000 sports fans to the National Alliance of Sports Federations, more than a quarter million Protestant dissenters to the various low-church sects, and 300,000 teetotallers to the many temperance societies--not to mention academic, philanthropic, philatelic, convivial, and innumerable more casual societies.[40]

The representatives of voluntary organizations serve on various committees and administrative boards and are elected to the legislature, and the views of the organizations are recorded in the official publications of the government. Thus the interests, which in America take the form of pressure groups, are in Sweden built into the process of public debate and have a responsible part to play in the structure of democratic policy making.

In addition to voluntary associations relating to the occupational and economic groupings of Swedish life—labor-management groupings, the cooperative movement, the agrarian associations--there are, as Gunnar Heckscher points out[41] the so-called idealistic associations. Among these are the free church societies, the members of which typically retain their membership in the established church. Originating toward the end of the eighteenth century, the free church movement became more powerful at about the turn of the twentieth century and had a considerable impact upon loosening the hold of the established church upon religious teaching in the schools. The free church movement had the effect of emphasizing personal decision and individual obligation in religious life--in this sense it supported the pietistic movements within the established church. The free church movement also sought the independence of religious life from the state. In more recent years the free church societies have cooperated with the Church of Sweden in opposing the secularizing tendencies of modern life.

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[39] Dankwart A. Rustow, The Politics of Compromise: A Study of Parties and Cabinet Government in Sweden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 7.

[40] Rustow, p. 7.

The Roman Catholic Church and its societies, although showing the greatest increase of any group in recent years, "finds itself still on the fringe of Swedish society."[42] Although it numbers today about 28,000 members, compared with 5,000 in 1940, and, according to Gustafsson, has made a definite impression on Swedish spiritual life, it has not yet gathered the strength to enable its political influence to be felt.

The voluntary organizations, both those representing occupational-economic interests and those of a more "idealistic" order, have played an important part in Swedish life. Although membership is voluntary, strong social pressures upon the individual encourage him to identify with societies whose efforts benefit the members of the group. An identity and solidarity in common effort is experienced. Heckscher observes that there is no important interest which is not expressed in an association and that it is a common experience to hold office at some time in one or more of the subdivisions of those societies.[43]

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[41] Lauwerys, p. 131.

[42] Berndt Gustafsson, The Christian Faith in Sweden (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1963), p. 19.

Furthermore, membership provides experience in the resolution of conflicts between organized interests. Thus a basis is laid for working out conflicts through consideration of contending views and a process of give and take leading to common policy. "Informal yet intensive training in the arts of orderly debate and group decision provides a solid foundation for Swedish democracy."[44]

Moreover, it is significant that much of the process of weighing and judging issues in policy is achieved below the level of governmental regulation. As voluntary associations extend their efforts in this adjudication of interests, they are able to take over some of the functions which in other societies are managed by governmental agencies and institutions. Thus the process of developing public policies is widely shared and the risks of having policies determined by governmental bureaucracies in the absence of public concern and debate are minimized.

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[43] Gunnar Heckscher, "The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Swedish Democracy," Scandinavian Democracy, edited by J. A. Lauwerys, p. 133.

[44] Rustow, p. 7.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The political parties in Sweden have also played an important part in the development of policy concerning religion and the schools. There are five political parties presently represented in the Riksdag, although in the period of unrest at the time of the first World War several farmers' and liberal parties were represented. Rustow provides a general picture of the character of the current parties.

> All of the five present-day Swedish parties have a relatively stable and well-defined social base. The Conservatives are a party of the upper and upper-middle classes, appeal strongly to the higher age and income groups, and have their main strongholds in the south of the country and in the large cities; however, they receive some support from the poorest workers. The Liberal party, although built around a strong middle-class core, is the only major party to receive substantial support from all three social classes. It appeals to both urban agnostics and rural conformists, and to farmers as well as to small merchants; its strongholds are in the North and in the cities. The Agrarian (Center) Party is almost exclusively a countryside party of small farmers; it is strongest in the southern rather than northern agricultural districts. The Social Democrats are predominately a working class party with support from both industrial and agricultural workers; they appeal more successfully to young people than to old, and to married couples (especially to the wives) than to single persons. The Communists derive their main support from workers of all income groups; they are strongest in the extreme North and in the two largest cities (Stockholm and Goteborg).[45]

The Social Democratic Labor Party has been the dominant party since the early 1930s. In several periods it was in coalition with others, chiefly the Center (formerly the Farmers') Party, but since 1957 it has been in office alone. The percentage of the electoral vote and the percentage of members of the Second Chamber in 1960 showed the following distribution: Conservatives, 16.5 percent; Liberals, 17.5 percent; Center Party, 13.6 percent; Social Democrats, 47.8 percent; Communists, 4.5 percent.[46] In the First Chamber in 1962 there were 23 Conservatives, 29 Liberals, 19 Centers, 77 Social Democrats, and 3 Communists.[47] Most voting follows party lines. Of 383 seats in both houses, Social Democrats carry 191 votes against 184 for the combined other democratic parties (i.e., excluding the Communists). The Communists usually abstain in order to avoid forcing out a socialist government.

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[45] Rustow, p. 143.

The chief pressure in the party system for lessening the church's control and influence in education has come from the Social Democrats. In the party's description of its ideological development we read:

> . . . lively discussions have taken place on the Party's attitude to religion. In the early years of the Party, anti-religious views were fairly strongly expressed. The Party has, however, never given any official directive on religion but always urged freedom of thought in this respect. In the earliest statements on this question, religion was simply stated to be a private matter for the individual. In 1905, a demand was added for the abolition of the State Church. This demand still appears in the programme while the Party's standpoint is defined otherwise as 'religious freedom.' Opinions undoubtedly differ in the Party, not over the principle of religious freedom but where the State Church is concerned. On the initiative of the Social Democratic Government new legislation was introduced in 1952 stating that everybody has the right to cancel his membership of the State Church and to be relieved of taxation paid to the Church.[48]

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[46] Ernst Michanek, Swedish Government in Action (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1962), p. 15.

[47] Michanek, p. 16.

[48] Frans Severin, The Ideological Development of Swedish Social Democracy (Stockholm: The Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party, 1956), pp. 54-55.

It is undoubtedly this position to which Tore Heldtander refers when he says, "It cannot be said that the Swedish labor movement has been directly hostile to the church . . . but the labor movement has taken a quite indifferent position towards the works and services of the church."[49] On the other hand, others refer to the labor party's leadership in supporting secularism in the schools and to attacks from "rising secular atheism" appearing in one of the leading newspapers, Dagens Nyheter. It was also the present government which appointed a committee in 1958 to look into the problems of church and state and to appraise the consequences of changes from present patterns.

The major opposition to the Social Democratic Labor Party comes from the Conservative Party. The preface to the program of the Conservative Party states:

> The Swedish Conservative Party asserts that the people of Sweden are of old a Christian people and that the Christian faith is an indispensable, sustaining and purifying power in society.[50]

Items 14 and 16 in the Party's program further affirm its position on religion and schooling.

> 14. The school's task is to provide a full education and, together with the home, to arouse and strengthen the sense of personal responsibility and the consciousness of ethical values. Within the framework of the school sound religious instruction is to be given, whilst observing the

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[49] Tore Heldtander, "Church and State in Sweden," American-Scandinavian Review, Vol. L (March, 1962), p. 16.

[50] Högerpartiets Informationstjänst (Conservative Party Information Service), The Conservative Party in Sweden (Stockholm: Swedish Conservative Party, 1963), p. 14.

> principles of religious freedom as regards respect for those who hold different opinions . . . .[51]
>
> 16. Religious freedom is to be maintained and all denominations are to have the right to work in their own way. The Church of Sweden, as a free national church collaborating with the Swedish State, will work for the Christian education of the people of Sweden. The agencies of the Church of Sweden are to have the full right of decision in the internal life of the Church and a decisive joint influence over the form of connection between State and Church . . . . The self-government of the parishes will be preserved.[52]

It is clear that the Conservative Party places "the principles of religious freedom" within the context of the school's responsibility to offer "sound religious instruction" and that the established church is to have "decisive joint influence" over the relations of church and state.

The Liberal Party also calls itself the People's Party. It is founded upon the principles of freedom of the individual and the right for justice for all. It bases its position upon Luther's insistence upon the individual's direct responsibility to a higher power and upon the long traditions of liberalism in English and German thought as well as upon Swedish traditions. It expresses its support of the major popular movements, the right-to-vote reforms of the last part of the nineteenth century, the "evangelistic movement and its fight for existence against the striving of the State Church to get monopoly on exercise of religion,"[53] its association with the temperance movements, the Free Churches, and the older labor movements.

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[51] Högerpartiets Informationstjänst, p. 20.

[52] Högerpartiets Informationstjänst, p. 21.

Liberalism's demand for freedom for all puts it in opposition to general collectivistic or socialistic conceptions, although where the individual's freedom is not in jeopardy, it supports certain movements toward centralization. The railway, postal, and telegraph systems are cited as examples. However, it opposes a "far-reaching centralization of the administration." It opposes the setting of interests in opposition and favors a cooperative, peaceful, and juridical co-existence among peoples, both nationally and internationally.

Its emphasis on character building and individual development in education is supported by a general respect for individually interpreted spiritual and religious values.

> . . . The respect for spiritual, religious and ethical values must be kept up, preserving and widening the serious outlook on life which belongs to the most valuable inheritage of our people, having its strongest foundation in the Christian culture.[54]

It is clear that its efforts for "liberty, justice, and humanity" have been closely associated with the efforts of the Free Churches to obtain religious freedom and with the "dissenter legislation" in the 1950s. In addition to the right to leave the State Church, this legislation included the right to civil funeral, the dissenting ministers' right to solemnize marriages, the right to teach religion in the schools although one is not a member of the established church.

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[53] The Swedish Institute, The Swedish Liberal Party (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute,.mimeograph, n.d.), p. 2.

[54] The Swedish Institute, The Swedish Liberal Party, p. 6.

It seems that the positions represented by the three political parties which we have mentioned are sufficient to indicate the range of party positions on questions of religion and the schools. The parties of the left are more likely to contain members who, somewhat apart from the platforms of the parties, push more militantly for a treatment of religious instruction which will bring it on a par with other courses of instruction in the school. The parties of the center and of the right are more concerned with affording religious teaching a more centrally Christian interpretation and character. Most of the discussion comes to a focus in the interpretation of "objectivity" and in the question about the amount of time given to the study of Christianity in relation to other subjects. In addition, discussion concerns the study of world religions and philosophies appropriate to the moral and spiritual decisions of young people growing up under the conditions of modern life. Although Sweden does not have confessional parties, it manages to discuss in serious political terms some of the basic problems of policy about religion and the schools which are common to us all.

One other point may be of some interest. If our interpretation of what some leaders in Sweden were saying is at all correct, it might be put in this way. As questions about religion are dealt with in legislative measures, the members of the political parties are not likely to be subject to party discipline. They are less guided by party positions than by their sense of the enduring spiritual character of Swedish life. They are likely to reaffirm the importance of a traditional Swedish religious unity. In a sense, they do not want to depart too far from the faith of their fathers.

Although they may favor the study of world religions appropriate to Sweden's place in world affairs today, although they may want matters of doctrinal conviction to be engaged in the church's instruction for confirmation rather than in instruction in the public school, although they may appreciate a principle of objectivity in religious instruction, yet when it comes to school policy and regulations, they are not disposed toward a radical break with their Christian past. The "middle way" is being worked out. Although some new emphases and directions may be encouraged in religious teaching, it will still be called in the basic school "Christian Knowledge," and it has a special position in setting the tone of the school.

SELECTED ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH POLICY

The teaching of religion in the folk school, enacted in the Primary School Act of 1842, consisted of the teaching of the catechism and the morality approved by the Church of Sweden. Even before this time there were trends that moved away from the use of the school as a means for promoting the faith of the Church. Pietism emphasized the importance of the ability of the people to read the Bible for themselves. Various reform movements appeared under the liberalizing cultural movements associated with the term "enlightenment." These urged the religious upbringing of children so that they could use rational argument rather than a mechanical acceptance of belief. Children should be led to think independently, to find genuine reasons to be convinced as a result of their own religious search.[55] But the majority view looked to the Lutheran catechism and the historic evangelical interpretation of the Bible as the direction of the religious responsibility of the school.

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[55] Teaching Christianity, p. 14.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the influence of dissenting congregations, at first the Baptists but later the Penecostalists and the Swedish Mission Covenant, became much stronger than the numbers of their memberships suggest. These groups strongly opposed the way Christianity was being taught in the schools. In addition, in the early part of the twentieth century various leaders of the "Young Church Movement" developed a more ecumenical outlook in the Church and looked to newer interpretations of Biblical Christianity rather than the fundamentalism of Lutheran orthodoxy, which still dominated the teaching of Christianity in the schools. The very important work of the Sigtuna Foundation, establishing contacts between the Church and the new groups in society, including the workers movement, dates from this period (1917). It contains today a flourishing folk high school and serves as a retreat and a center for study and for discussion between various groups in Swedish cultural life. Although under church auspices, it has complete freedom from church authorities and exemplifies the contribution of the Church to the national life on a voluntary basis.

The year 1919 marks a turning point in the development of the teaching of Christianity in Swedish schools. The period of close relation between church and school was ended.

> It was now decided that the catechism should no longer be taught; the Bible should be taught as a historical book; the instruction should be objective, which means being bound to no denomination although an Evangelical Christianity was

> presupposed as a common basis. Time given to religious instruction in school was reduced.[56]

Thus after 1919 the sense of "objectivity" in the teaching of religion became, as it continues to be, controversial. At first it presupposed a common Christianity about which the Church of Sweden and the Free Churches could agree. More and more it became interpreted as a kind of neutrality, which to some meant indifference to conviction but to others meant an uncoerced search for enlightened conviction. Increasingly it meant teaching about Christian and non-Christian religions. However, the widened range of the content of religious education has not even today settled the question of the character of its impact upon the lives of students particularly at younger levels.

In 1919, however, the tendency of future concerns was indicated.

> If instruction is objective and is sustained by the spirit of tolerance, there is yet in Christianity so very much in common for different religious thinking that such planned instruction ought, without losing anything in earnestness and firmness or in properly instructive import, to be able to satisfy the great majority of our people, at the same time that it ought to enable our children to find a deeper and truer conception of religious and ethical problems.[57]

Although in the years between 1919 and the 1940s there were upon occasion efforts to return to the more dogmatic lines of earlier years, the over-all tendency was to loosen the hold of orthodox belief and to bring the teaching of religion more relevantly in touch with the newer movements and demands of modern Swedish life.

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[56] Rodhe, p. 13.

[57] Teaching Christianity, p. 30.

As one reads the record of proposals, discussions, and enactments after 1919, one sees recurrent concern with questions about: the number of hours a week to be allocated to teaching Christianity, the use of Luther's catechism as a text, whether knowledge of Christianity and the morning devotions should be compulsory, whether and in what sense instruction should be non-confessional, and how responses to these matters are to be related to the cultivation of respect, tolerance, and the freedom of thought. One school commission followed another in considering these matters, some being appointed before the earlier one had finished its work.

The 1946 School Commission, of which Tage Elander was initially the presiding officer, proposed the combining of the folkskola and the realskola into a single united school having a nine-year compulsory course, a proposal which has now resulted in the comprehensive school. The policies proposed in 1946 regarding religious education were largely those which became the general policy in the 1960s. Among other things, it observed that religious education, if it were given under other auspices than the public school, could not guarantee to be a broadminded or pedagogically sound as that which could and should be given in the school.[58] It recognized the problem of "morgonandakten" (morning devotions) inherited from 1919 and formed rules that, in effect, retained its character as worship, yet tried to make it more acceptable to all parents. A minority reservation was recorded by six delegates who thought group prayers should not be held in school and that obligatory participation in morning devotions constituted a categorical interference in liberty of thought.

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[58] Teaching Christianity, p. 40.

The Freedom of Religion Law of 1951 is an important milestone in the development of modern Swedish policy. Since its passage cabinet ministers, with the exception of the minister in charge of church affairs, no longer have to be members of the Church of Sweden. Although since 1860 it was permissible to withdraw from the Church of Sweden and either join another approved Christian denomination or found another congregation after obtaining the sanction of the government, it was not permissible until 1951 to leave the Church without joining another religious community.[59] Prior to 1951 teachers of religion had to belong to a protestant faith. After heated debate it was decided that there should be no rules whatever on the faith of teachers of Christian knowledge. Rodhe states that there are now teachers who are Roman Catholics, Jews, atheists, and agnostics although most belong to the established church, and further, that there is no way to determine how many teachers represent any group.[60]

It is interesting to observe that it was about a hundred years earlier, 1858 in fact, when the Conventicle Edit of 1726 was rescinded. This edict, directed against the pietists who established "conventicles," or worship in private groups, had prohibited such private worship at the peril of fines, imprisonment, or exile.[61] Thus, in a period of one hundred years Sweden had moved from patterns of severe repression of dissent to patterns supporting a considerable measure of religious freedom.

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[59] Robert Murray, A Brief History of the Church of Sweden: Origins and Modern Structure, translated by Nils G. Sahlin (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1961), p. 68.

[60] Rodhe, p. 15.

[61] Murray, pp. 52-53.

The committee proposing the law about religious freedom also stated that they had worked against the disintegration in the teaching of religion, which would have come about if Christianity, traditionally taught in the schools, suddenly would have been taught by the different communions. It would have meant giving up the basic principle of a unified school. The Free Churches had attacked the teaching of Christianity partly because of its strongly confessional character under the influence of the established church. Since the teaching was changed so that it was acceptable to most Christian communions, it could remain as an obligatory subject without violating the principles of religiou freedom and freedom of conscience of the various Free Churches.

It was, as the committee on religious freedom saw it, a matter of how the teaching was done, its content and the spirit of the teaching. It should be done so that constraint of conscience was excluded. This could be done to the satisfaction of the protestant groups, but it might be different for Jews, Roman Catholics, and those who belonged to no communion. There might be a reduction of the freedom of religion for these groups. The committee noted a tension between on the one hand, society's responsibility to educate in a commun united school program and, on the other hand, the freedom of religion of even small groups who should also be protected against constraint of conscience and oppression of opinion.

To reach an adjustment the committee thought it best that under certain circumstances release from participation in the teaching of

Christianity might be given as long as the exceptions formed only a small number of all the students. In this way it would not constitute a breaking up of the united school, which had been accepted as a principle by the Riksdag.

The Board of Education, when it came to grips with the matter, thought that all children should have some knowledge of the history and content of Christianity, but it also thought that in principle confessionless children should have the same right of withdrawal as those of minority confessions. But it thought it not possible to arrange practically. Children from other confessions, i.e., Roman Catholics and Jews, could substitute religious teaching arranged by their communions after that communion had been recognized by the King.

In the discussion of a bill introduced into the Riksdag in 1950 the head of the ministry thought that the analysis of questions about the different perspectives on life might cause dissensions and bring about divisions among the people. Partly these dissensions were of the kind that must be attended to and illustrated in school. But the most important concern of the school was whether there was a common understanding of right and wrong, good and evil, truth and falsity, sufficient to provide a basis for teaching Christianity which would satisfy the great majority of the people.

The head of the Ministry also pointed out that the demand for objectivity in teaching was kept alive just because the teaching was intended for children of different persuasions and not for a weeded out remainder which was left over after certain points of view had been cleared away. He also thought differentiation into various groups on the matter of life perspectives was bad from a mental hygiene point of view. Experience in other countries had shown how questions about perspectives on life could disunite. An early division of children into "heathens" and "Christians" was as little appropriate to the idea of a "united school" as was a sorting out according to social classes and income brackets. Hence, he could not support the right of confessional children to be released from the teaching of Christianity, although they could be released from the morning meeting if its content was outside the framework of the lessons.[62]

The period of the 1950s was marked by experimental development of comprehensive schools. Jonas Orring, who has occupied several key positions in the growth of the comprehensive school movement, reports that the number of school districts having experimental comprehensive schools grew from 14 in 1949-50 to 30 in 1952-53, to 59 in 1955-56, to 142 in 1958-59, and to 295 in 1960-61. There are slightly more than 1,000 school districts in Sweden.[63] He indicates that the change to the comprehensive school was planned to continue from 1962 to 1968 with 1972-73 as the year in which all school districts will have established the full nine grades. The development of policy in its operating context in the life of the schools has thus been promoted by planning directed by the National Board of Education. The experience gained in the process has been accumulated and published and thus made available to school commissions and various committees that continue to study and refine policies and feed back the results of their work to the schools.

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[62] *Teaching Christianity*, pp. 48-49.

[63] Jonas Orring, *Comprehensive School and Continuation Schools in Sweden*, translated by Albert Read (Stockholm: Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction, 1962), p. 146.

For example, a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Birgit Rodhe, assistant school superintendent in Malmo, has been working on the problem of the act of worship in the morning meetings of the early grades of the comprehensive school. This was a problem area with which the reports on religious education had been concerned but had not been able to take a clear-cut position. The matter is being worked at by trying to develop examples and alternative ways to implement objectivity at the younger age levels. The committee seeks to help teachers to bring Swedish traditions and developing policies into relationship in the design of new practices rather than to leave teachers to their own devices in the matter. Educational leaders are much concerned with the work, and many agree with the chairman of the committee that what is done in this matter is very much of a crucial test in the development of modern policy. It seems safe to say that the search for policy is moving in the direction of experiments with various kinds of morning meetings expressing the human aspects of religious faiths rather than their intellectually debatable aspects.

A wide and accumulating experience in the careful balancing of interests has played an important part in the Swedish settlement of the religious question so that major advances in the extension of educational opportunity could occur. Experts have been drawn upon to develop basic curriculum recommendations and these have been widely distributed and extensively commented upon by many kinds of voluntary groups in the country.

> . . . Study associations and adult education organizations have, for many years, spread information about and understanding for the fundamental ideas of the reform; commercial and industrial enterprises and labour market agencies of different kinds have actively participated by organizing courses and distributing information among their employees and members in order to bring about direct co-operation with the school. The public debate in the daily press and other publications during all these years has not only reflected the general interest in problems of education, but has also contributed to greater understanding for and interest in practical problems and principles that are an integral part of the reform.[64]

Thus the problems in teaching religion, such as the questions about objectivity and how it is related to the expression of faith in acts of worship, have been widely discussed and the people have participated in the operating settlement of them.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SWEDISH POLICY FOR AMERICANS

It seems clear that new dimensions of experience concerning religion and schooling are introduced as one moves from the policies of England and the Netherlands to those of Sweden. Here policies regarding the teaching of religion in the unified comprehensive school are of maximum concern.

In contrast with English policy, Sweden seeks to teach a common undenominational but generally Christian religion which shall however be taught objectively. Rather than having boys and girls emerge as convinced Christians, as English policy proposes, the function of religious education in Swedish public schools is to enable them to think for themselves about questions of faith. The schools are to enlighten, to encourage the forming of convictions, but more and more they are not to predispose belief by fostering the acceptance of doctrine, such as that involved in a generous interpretation of the Apostle's Creed. However, the consequences of Swedish policy, when measured in terms of church attendance, do not seem much different from those in England. Although 99 percent of the Swedish people belong to the church and more than four-fifths of all parents have their children baptized and later confirmed in the Swedish Church, only one of every five Swedes worship at least once a month in church.[65] In terms of the criterion of attendance at church, the policy involved in the agreed syllabus approach does not seem to produce any greater results than the objective neutrality to doctrine of Swedish policy.

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[64] Orring, p. 149.

Teaching religion objectively has been very extensively studied and experienced in Sweden. What Americans mean by "teaching about religion" and how this is to be planned and controlled under public school auspices might be promoted through consideration of Swedish experience. For the sake of brevity combined with comprehensiveness let us assert without elaboration some main considerations.

A common and united school program in which all persuasions participate with the least possible sorting out on religious as well as social class and income differentials is seen to be of central importance in extending Swedish patterns of democratic life.

The Swedish example has shown that it is not impossible for a people to work together and achieve in large measure an operating policy of teaching objectively about religion.

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[65] Gustafsson, p. 16.

The Swedes have shown that the kind of neutrality toward religious faiths and creeds involved in objective teaching is neither hostile nor indifferent to religion.

A distinction between religious teaching in the public school and religious teaching by the church as preparation for confirmation may be desirably maintained so that the former supports the latter.

The educational value of an informed uncoerced search for independent judgment does not necessarily indicate either a cold presentation of facts without exercise of critical judgment or a lack of involvement in questions involving convictions.

Swedish policy has been gradually and experimentally developed with a wide participation on the part of varied interests and groups which have studied and contributed to the direction of national policy. A similar tolerant, experimental, participant process might well be stimulated and extended in America.

Although Swedish experience in teaching religion objectively is more extensive than that in other countries of concern in this study, it also helps us to see some of the problems encountered in "teaching about religion." For example, Swedish leaders are concerned with whether religion is a subject of equal standing with other academic subjects or whether it has some privileged position. Some see it as a subject with a unique position in the curriculum on the grounds that its nature demands its pervading everything else in the life and curriculum of the school. Others think that this extension of its range as a subject matter is a claim in excess of objectivity. The scientific attitude toward openness of inquiry should also be pervasive as should the aesthetic quality of experience involved most clearly in art, literature, and music. In this view, when one is considering the qualities that pervade the school's efforts and program, the attention to perspectives on life should be seen as a philosophical rather than a religious dimension of the school's work.

Although we have underscored the wide participation of voluntary groups in the discussion of Swedish policy, it should also be noted that considerations about religion in the schools also become involved in political affairs in such a way that interests are not ready to join in a common and shared effort. Not all expressions of religious views are as open and friendly as those conducted by teachers. Some take the form of polemics and might quite readily be found in this form in the journals and papers. There is an important segment of Swedish opinion holding that educators should lead in the reasoned discussion of questions of religion in the schools. This of course requires that teachers should be educated and experienced in a respectful weighing of the conditions and values involved in those questions.

Finally, Americans might profit from the Swedish concern with other countries and with foreign relations that promote peace and understanding between peoples. The Swedish people and particularly educators in Sweden sense that one cannot deal effectively with other countries unless he understands their cultures, including their religions and the problems conditioned by those religions. Swedish policy in extending the basis of religious literacy is particularly attentive to its international and socio-cultural relationships with many other peoples.

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CHAPTER V

SOME PROBLEMS OF POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

What we have seen of the social and historical determinants of policy concerning religion and schooling in selected European countries suggests a variety of concerns with the character of policy in the United States. Rather than attempting to set up a balance sheet summing up the benefits and liabilities of European patterns of policy which we have noted in preceding chapters, we shall attempt to look again at the current situation in America. Perhaps a perspective refreshened through the investigation of policies abroad may help to sort out some of the ingredients of our problems and some of the opportunities before us today. The study of European policies may have helped to alert us to what we ought to avoid and what we might be able to achieve in the United States.

We have seen that present policies in the countries we have studied have grown out of the relatively unique historical conditions of the particular nation's culture. The United States has escaped, for the most part, the long and bitter struggle which is the background of policy in England and the Netherlands. The history of religious pluralism in this country is in sharp contrast with the relative homogeneity of church membership in Sweden. If the historical background of American experience is adequately appreciated, it points to conditions which are significantly different from those in other countries. These conditions include a number of valuations contributing to flourishing church life and freedom of belief and thought in this country.

Although a thoroughly grounded expression of our unique conditions and valuations would call for much more than we can do here, we may be briefly reminded of four main interrelated premises supporting American policy.

1. A basic aspect of the historical experience of the American people has been the rejection of patterns of policy entangling religion and politics and a confidence in the people's ability to devise an open society that would avoid allowing religious differences to become the source of civil strife and discord. To achieve this end patterns of policy in the United States have adhered to the view that religion and government can best advance their purposes when each is free in its sphere from the control and support of the other.
2. The people of the United States have built a system of common public schools open to those of any race, creed, or social class, comprising in this sense a single comprehensive system under public control, financed by tax funds, and devoted to the enlightenment of all so that they can think for themselves.
3. The conception of a free and open society includes the protection of religious freedom, the right for each to believe and practice his faith including his dissent from any or from all faiths, as he sees it.
4. The conditions for the promotion of a life of freedom in the United States also include a range of due processes whereby, as conditions change, conflicts of interest may be adjudicated

in terms of their impact on the maintenance of the free society and the pursuit of the general welfare.

Despite some differences in the interpretations of the meanings of these generalizations and some qualifications concerning the relations between them, they indicate a basic framework of American policy that has carried us forward in the past and continues to be treasured by the vast majority of our people.

Each statement individually and the meaning of all of them collectively merits considerable refinement. What we have referred to as the rejection of entanglements between religion and politics, for instance, does not deny that the churches have an important and legitimate role in the criticism of public policy. Nor are religion and government so distinct in their spheres of operation that there are no grounds for maintaining such traditional practices as chaplains in the armed services, prayers at presidential inaugurations, and certain common civic services for church schools, although these may be questioned by some. Our purpose is not to set forth a self-regulating set of principles but to call attention to interrelated conditions of American policy which are sometimes overlooked in the heated exchanges of views between opposed interests. We should keep centrally in mind what is uniquely valuable in American experience for it provides a context for moving ahead responsibly with the refinement of policies appropriate to new conditions.

In short, the people of the United States face the situation of extending educational opportunity appropriate to a flourishing society while doing so within the context of their historic patterns of public policy and the continuing welfare of institutions essential to them.

Viewing our problems in this light provides several further appraisals of our present situation. One of these points to what has been called the American experiment in designing a free and open society. This means that our traditions in large part point to a willingness to break with European views of the relations between church and school and to adopt a responsible experimental attitude toward devising new approaches to problems that have plagued European democracies. Historically, among these new approaches are our traditions of religious freedom, the separation of church and state, and the development of a public school responsive to the needs of a growing pluralistic society. Today we should be guided in our responsiveness to changing conditions by a primary care for the policies and institutions that have contributed so fundamentally to our present ability to expand and extend the benefits of our way of life.

None of this means that the public school should be merely maintained without change resulting from responsible criticism and efforts to improve its quality. On the other hand, the public school has brought a measure of unity in a context of diverse peoples and creeds without which we would be a very different people. Hence, we should appraise carefully the probable consequences for its continued welfare as we make new efforts to provide a fuller life by the extension of educational opportunity to more and more of our people. We have noted European efforts to achieve comprehensive schools with the unifying social consequences that mark our system of public schools. We have noted the conditions contributing to the decline of the public schools in the Netherlands. These experiences indicate the desirability of preserving and enhancing rather than depreciating and limiting the role of the public school in the development and maintenance of the free and open society as we know it.

To put the matter more directly in terms of what we have observed in other countries, we need to be concerned with how we can extend opportunities to the greatest range of our people while avoiding the consequences on the one hand of threats to the integrity of various religious groups and on the other hand the fracturing of our society into separate ways of life each seeking to maintain itself against the extension of advantages to the others. How can we, through the judicious modification of policy within the framework of our values and the institutions supporting them, move ahead without infringing the freedom of groups and individuals, freedoms we presently enjoy in large measure and seek to extend and strengthen? How can we extend educational opportunity without incurring the consequences of various forms of political preference for specific religions found in European countries?

In the effort to extend the range of indirect support of church schools we should be alert to the character of organized political efforts by religious interests. We have noted that the drive for increased subsidies for church-controlled schools in England has resulted in considerable pressure being put on members of Parliament and public officials. Organizations have been formed whose primary function is to provide propaganda for full support of Catholic schools and to bring pressure upon local educational authorities. Pilot studies were made to appraise the strength of opposing religious groups. We have noted that the adjustments of the 1959 Act have encouraged the Anglican and the Free Church educational groups to reconsider the tendency to place their schools under public control. They now increasingly prefer to maintain their own independent schools.

In the Netherlands we have noted the efforts of confessional parties to have their religious doctrines given a preferred place in national educational enactments. The legislature was called upon to decide whether the Humanist League had the same standing as that of a church. An ecclesiastical letter brought pressure upon voters to conform to the political efforts of the confessional party. To be reminded of these findings of our inquiry in European countries is to be forewarned of consequences in the United States that may follow from some organized political efforts by religious groups.

In view of the tradition in the United States of local control in education, when decisions about forms of indirect support of religious schools are made at the local level--in regard to bus transportation, provision of textbooks from public funds, and other indirect benefits--the door is opened more widely to pressures on public officials, to religious bloc voting, to considerations about the religious affiliation rather than the full qualifications of the public official or candidate for office. Since religious groups are not evenly distributed in this country, and since the character of their political activity varies with circumstances of time and place, problems are likely to be more intense in some places and times than others. In short, as indirect support increases there seems to be more need for clearly defined national policy if undesirable consequences are to be avoided.

Furthermore, there is another aspect of the matter. If efforts to promote the educational opportunity of religious schools are to be advanced through indirect aids and justified in part on the grounds of the public service rendered by these schools, presumably the people should know how these aids promote the educational aspects of the work of these schools. One of the difficulties appears to be that it is unclear whether this aid on the basis of the fulfillment of the civic functions performed by these schools contributes to these civil betterments or to the church as an ecclesiastical institution.

However, if it is possible to distinguish the more secular subjects from those in which sacral concerns are more central and if the religious school fulfills the obligation of a public school and in addition suffuses its work with a religious quality, then the public which supplies funds on the basis of the parochial school's civil responsibilities should be able to be satisfied that its funds fulfill the public as distinct from the churchly interest. The government does not supply funds for vocational education, for instance, without being entitled to be satisfied that its support is used for this purpose. In this sense a measure of public control is involved.

This is a matter of concrete specific means. Experiences in other countries indicate that the means for assuring the fulfillment of the civic responsibilities of religious schools are not without consequences. The experiences of the Dutch with "requirements of good quality" suggest that as one becomes more specific about the characteristics of good quality, the difference between public and private schools becomes less perceptible. The liberty to do as one's doctrines indicate in one's own circle is brought more and more under common, public control. The religious society finds that its conception of freedom is limited by the assurances the state requires in return for its subsidy.

In short, there is a difference between public funds used to subsidize education under ecclesiastical controls and the use of public funds to support that aspect of privately controlled education which fulfills public requirements and is subject to public controls. If policy moves in the direction of the former, it would constitute a considerable departure from the main direction of interpretations of our constitution. If it moves in the direction of the latter, we are presented with an unchartered future. At this time in our national experience this distinction and its attendant problems need to be given careful consideration.

Another related matter deserves mention. The extension of educational opportunity may be sought by providing indirect support such as educational materials for religious school pupils from public funds under the "benefit to the child" justification. Some indirect support, such as police protection, protection against fire, provisions for school lunches and the like presumably do not involve major dimensions of doctrinal religious interpretations. Other varieties of indirect support, the provision of textbooks and other educational materials, may involve the introduction of doctrinal views. The use of particular forms of religious symbols in visual, auditory and written materials is introduced. Presumably textbooks involve interpretations and explanations as well as purely factual or neutral presentations. We have some evidences through Professor La Noue's investigations[1] that existing materials in parochial school textbooks express religious doctrines in a rather complete range of subjects. The use of public funds to provide textbooks expressing a particular religious view and seeking explicitly or implicitly to secure adherents to that variety of religious belief presents a problem as to whether this indirect aid constitutes a support of religion as distinct from a benefit to the child.

Although the patterns of policy we have studied in Europe do not express this kind of distinction, since subsidies are provided directly to the church or religious society--and many Europeans have difficulty in understanding how mathematics, for example, can be sectarian--there is one aspect of European experience which may be brought to bear upon the matter. This has to do with conceptions of objectivity in teaching religion as well as other subjects. In Sweden, for instance, a textbook commission supervises the books written for school use and judges whether the directives of the legislature are carried out. We might also be reminded again that the Nordic countries have been cooperating for several decades in producing history textbooks that adhere to objectivity, faithfulness to fact, and the promotion of peace and understanding between their nations. This suggests the desirability of a sustained and coordinated effort by educators in this country to study the problems involved in this entire matter and to develop policies appropriate to our conditions in this country.

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[1] George R. La Noue, "Religious Schools and Secular Subjects," _Harvard Educational Review_, XXXII, No. 3 (Summer, 1962), pp. 255-291.

There is another matter observed in the dialogues carred on in Europe that bears upon the development of educational policies in this country. We recall that there is some expression, particularly on the part of Catholic laymen in the Netherlands, of a view concerning the nature and function of Catholic education in a period of reconsideration of the Church's responsibilities in the modern world. In regard to education this view has been concerned with policies of the Church which separate its educational work from the efforts of all people to build a more humane society. It sees the Church's role in education in terms of conditions of time and place. It suggests that the encyclicals expressing the educational policies of the Church are historical documents responsive to conditions of a period. These conditions may change. This view is not directed toward eliminating church schools but is concerned with whether the conditions of modern life indicate something other than a single uncompromising effort to have every Catholic child in a Catholic school.

It appears that this view is not unrelated to efforts to extend educational opportunity in this country. Programs of shared time under certain conditions might provide an appropriate means to extend educational opportunity without endangering the public school or providing preferential treatment of religion. Yet they might counteract tendencies toward columnization in American life. The American people might be able to find a way to extend their traditional unique experiment in a free society under the terms of the First Amendment. However, there are many unknowns in these programs which may become of considerable importance if shared time were to typify our policy. Many of these are not within the scope of our inquiry. One, however, is suggested by the movement we have indicated in the Netherlands.

It concerns the stance taken by American Catholics toward the traditional educational policies of the Church. If the position expressed by the Church were interpreted by American Catholics in terms of the conditions of American life today, it might recognize more than a single, monolithic Catholic school system as an appropriate means for the fulfillment of the Church's educational mission. Some Dutch Catholics have pointed out, as have some in this country,[2] that the school is not the Church. There may be more than one means to fulfill the Catholic educational function. The kind of pluralism of means may be exemplified in America by a shared time approach, not as a temporary expediency on a route to the fuller support of church-controlled schools but as a policy of taking pluralism of means seriously.

These considerations suggest that before we are too far committed in this country to what may be profound changes in national policy, we need to study together in greater detail and, where appropriate, on a designated experimental basis the character and consequences of specific efforts to relate the parochial school's teaching of subjects which may be more centrally sacral with the public school's teaching of other subjects. Carefully designed and controlled efforts to test the adequacy and the consequences of specific aspects of policy are indicated. These studies should be sensitive to and precise about the particular policy ingredients with which they are dealing.

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[2] Mary Perkins Ryan, Are Parochial Schools the Answer? (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), 176 pp.

Policies concerning the teaching of religion in public schools are not unrelated to those about the support of religious schools. In both matters public funds are expended. The teaching of religion also involves questions about the control of that teaching and about the meaning of religious freedom. If the problems of policy involved in these matters were clarified and appropriate responses to them developed, the schools would be able to undertake a more active role in promoting religious literacy. This in turn might well advance the discussion and understanding of policy about religion and public education to new levels.

In questions about the teaching of religion in public schools, as in questions about the support of church schools from public funds, the conditions and values of the American context are of central importance. Some aspects of policy within this context have been clarified and for our purposes can be briefly asserted. The Supreme Court has determined that official acts of worship or such aspects of them as Bible reading and the recitation of prayers are violations of our constitutional provisions. The Court has further tried to make it clear that this judgment does not mean the establishment of secularism as a religion. The policy of neutrality toward all religions does not mean hostility to them. Nor does it mean the exclusion of the study of comparative religion, of the history of religion, or of the bearing of religion on various conditions and problems in our own and other cultures. It does not exclude the study of the Bible for its literary and historical qualities. Presumably, religion, as any other subject, may be studied objectively. The schools, as is commonly said, may teach about religion.

What we have seen of the teaching of religion abroad suggests that we need to be further concerned with policies of teaching about religion. We can take it for granted that teaching about religion means that the advocacy of particular forms of religious creed, belief, or doctrine is to be avoided. An objective effort should be made to inform the student of the religious ingredients of his and other cultures. Yet questions remain concerning the interpretations and explanations involved in providing information. To say that the school's function in teaching about religion is to be non-preferential in regard to religious faiths may give some direction as to what the schools should avoid. It does not, however give sufficient direction for the positive role of objective teaching about religion.

We might be clearer about two related aspects of the matter. One relates to the nature of the authority involved in such teaching. Instruction in this as in any other subject matter is authorized by some claim to knowledge of a specialized kind and to some view of how the field is brought into relationship with those who do not possess that knowledge. Presumably the teacher of mathematics or of history or of any other content not only knows this field but does so in terms of bringing it to bear upon the student's need for that knowledge and the society's concern that that knowledge be conveyed in ways appropriate to the values of that society. In teaching about religion we should try to be clear as to the authority for that teaching.

We cannot here develop a full analysis of the relations between the various dimensions of the nature and sources of the teacher's authority for instruction about religion. Presumably this matter merits further inquiry if we are to ground teaching about religion in a sound theory about its policies. However, we can point to a difference between the kind of authorization claimed by the church or the parent as a member of the church and that of the public school.

In general, ecclesiastically based claims to authority in matters of religion stem from particular historic creeds and doctrines, ultimately theologies, expressed by an organized group of believers who seek to maintain and extend that belief and the organized forms of its expression. The teaching mission of the church is to be distinguished from the educational function of the public school. The latter is authorized to bring an area of knowledge and concern before the student in such a way that he can think for himself as an informed and critically responsible person.

While the authority of the church may not be opposed to that of the school, the two patterns of authorized control over the lives of others may be said to intersect or perhaps converge at particular points rather than be congruent or coincident throughout. The function of the public school under its patterns of authority may support and extend the interests of the church. The ability to think and choose for one's self need not be inversely related to the church's pastoral, liturgical, and teaching functions. The function of the church in securing belief and, as the English say, membership in a worshipping community, may under some conditions, promote the work and welfare of the public school. However, the educational function of the public school differs from the teaching function of the church, and American policies concerning teaching about religion should reflect the differences.

This distinction between the character of the control of religious education under ecclesiastical and under educational patterns of authority may not need to be further refined in order to related it to different dimensions of the meaning of religious freedom.

What we have observed in European countries suggests two meanings or frames of reference in regard to religious freedom. It may refer to the freedom of the church from interference by the state in the control of its teaching mission. On the other hand, it may refer to the freedom of the individual to think for himself in religion as in other matters. Policies about state supported teaching of religion may express the freedom of the church to engage in and direct the teaching of religion under ecclesiastical authorities. This is the dominant pattern of policy in the Netherlands. On the other hand, policies may express the freedom of the individual to develop his understanding of religion under the control of religiously impartial educational authorities. This characterizes modern Swedish policy. Policies may express some mixture of the two as they do in England. Presumably, American policy has sought a balance between the two without confusing one with the other or limiting one meaning of freedom by allowing it to be dominated by the other.

In this regard the development of policy in Sweden is most relevant to American policy of teaching about religion. There, educational considerations, including the freedom of the individual to think for himself, are central in public school policy, and the churches are free to engage in confessional religious teaching. The meaning of objectivity and related concepts is much discussed and policy has favored the non-preferential teaching about religion and life perspectives under the control of educators rather than the church. An active concern for the development of materials and forms of expression within the framework of this policy is clearly evident.

Teachers of religion in Sweden point out that objectivity in teaching not only promotes religious freedom in the sense of individual informed choice, but also promotes desirable consequences for the interests of the church. Objectivity in teaching religion not only serves to prevent proselytizing for particular religious views but is also a protection against efforts to implant anti-religious doctrines. It teaches understanding of religion and respect and tolerance for various religions and provides for the exploration of questions that challenge religious beliefs and doctrines. It counteracts superficiality and hypocrisy in religious belief. Impartial investigation of man's search for a faith to live by promotes the individual's ability to understand his own life situation. The teaching of the church has something to build on.

Some are willing to grant that teaching about religion may bring understanding of religious questions under educational control. They agree that the religious freedom of the individual is centrally served, and through it, the freedom of organized religions. They see that the individual's concern with religious questions is another matter than the church's interest in maintaining its life and functions. As they see it, however, questions remain as to whether religion is a subject comparable to others and whether it ought to be treated educationally as a subject of equal standing with others. Religion, since it deals with convictions and commitment and with matters of ultimate concern expressed by institutional forms and creeds, is seen by some as different from other subjects. One has to grow up within it, experience it in upbringing, in order to know and understand it. Objectivity in how it ought to be taught should be of another order from that pertaining to other subjects.

On the other hand, others argue that although teachers may be required to extend critically their conceptions and practices of objective teaching, the educational problem is not different in kind from that in other areas. The teacher should deal objectively with expressions of conviction and the values of life wherever they arise, and he should when appropriate state his own views without inculcating them as preferred commitments. Such impartiality does not mean indifference to religious values but a loyalty in this area as in others to the uncoerced search for truth. Problems of instruction here are not different from those in other subjects where questions concerning orientation to life and choices concerning values arise. To attempt to extend the teaching of history, sociology, and literature in the understanding of the value problems of life is not to displace the aspects of upbringing for which the home and church are responsible but to undergird them with the knowledge that one needs to think for himself.

The discussion of these considerations in committees at national and local levels and the wide participation of the Swedish people in the development of policy about the teaching of religion suggest the need to extend the study and discussion of similar problems in this country.

Although there have been some efforts in teacher education to extend the teacher's understanding of religion and what is involved in teaching about it, educators could profit from considering what European countries have done, particularly in producing materials for use in the schools and for the guidance of the teacher. This means that teachers need not only the kinds of knowledge and understanding contributed by ecclesiastical interests but also insight into the many aspects of educational policies appropriate to teaching about religion. The production of materials for use in the school, apart from thoroughly penetrating study of the problems of policy, is hazardous. If the American people are to participate in the understanding and development of policies appropriate to their context, the teacher must be prepared to make very clear the considerations that guide the school in its efforts. We need to clarify how the educational interest under the guidance of educational values is to work out in practice and in judgments of practice.

This calls for an educational effort in research, discussion, and experimental practice, an effort grounded not only in knowledge of the content and forms of expression of religious belief. It demands a considerable grasp of the anthropological, linguistic, and philosophic resources, among others, that may be drawn upon today. A continuing effort by some institute, corresponding to those in England and Sweden, might supply the leadership needed today. If it could bring together the contributions of the various disciplines, it could, among other things, help educators see what moves they could make in experimental practice and what requires further theoretical analysis in the development of American educational policy. This in itself would be a significant contribution.